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# ISOCHRONISM AND VERSE RHYTHM A Method of Investigation

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The experience of rhythm in the reading of verse aloud appears to be correlated with a degree of regularity in time characteristic of the recurrence of what may be called rhythmic units. In the literature dealing with metrics and verse one may read:

"Eine Haupteigenschaft des Verses ist der Rhythmus, d. h. die Wiederholung von etwas Gleichartigem nach ungefähr konstanten Intervallen." [E. W. Scripture, Grundzüge der englischen Verswissenschaft, Marburg, 1929, p. 17.]

or:

"Nicht nur für den musikalischen Vortrag, sondern auch für den rezitierenden, soweit er dem natürlichen Gefühl folgt und durch keine Theorie beirrt wird, gilt das Gesetz, daß die einzelnen Takte in der Zeitdauer einander gleich sind, oder wenigstens noch als gleich empfunden werden . . . [H. Paul, Deutsche Metrik, Pauls Grundriß der germanischen Philologie, II, 2, Straßburg, 1905, p. 51.]

or:

"Rhythm is that property of a sequence of events in time which produces on the mind of the observer the impression of proportion between the durations of the several events or groups of events of which the sequence is composed." [E. A. Sonnenschein, What is Rhythm?, Oxford, 1925, p. 16.]

or:

"Le rythme est constitué dans toute versification par le retour à intervalles sensiblement égaux des temps marqués ou accents rythmiques." [M. Grammont, Petit traité de versification française, 5. ed. Paris, 1924, p. 47.]

or:

"Wir verstehen unter dem Worte [Rhythmus] Gliederung der Zeit in sinnlich faßbare Teile"... "Einen metrischen Rhythmus bestimmt man, indem man die Dauer der Zeitteile und die Lage der Ikten angibt... Den metrischen Rhythmus unterscheiden von dem ungeordneten die wiederkehrenden gleichen Zeitspannen von Iktus zu Iktus..." [A. Heusler, Deutsche Vers-.... geschichte, I, Berlin, 1925, p. 17 and p. 24.]

Clearly: durational factors are crucial in the creation of verse rhythm. Attempts to deal with these factors by means of instrumental measurements have not been prosecuted with vigor and are not viewed with favor by the metricists. One of the more valid objections, for example, to the work of Brücke 1 is that of Jacob Minor [Neuhochdeutsche Metrik, Straßburg, 1893, p. 49] when he writes:

"Seine (i. e. Brückes) Messungen will ich in Ehren halten; aber sie beweisen doch nur, daß er die Verse mit völliger Taktgleichheit in sein Instrument hineingesprochen hat. Daß man aber Verse mit genauester Beobachtung des Taktes lesen kann, wird nicht geleugnet; nur daß man alle Verse so lesen soll oder

 $mu\beta$ ."

Obviously, the necessary preliminary step in any analysis of verse rhythms is the obtaining, in one way or another, of a proper reading of the verse, that is, the persuasion of someone to read the verse as it "should or must" be read. Of course, there are several different possibilities in most instances, and the problem of getting a reading which fulfills the poet's intentions is not easy of solution. However, one may approach it by inducing a number of persons of literary discrimination and good taste to read a poem as they feel it should be read. Such readings can be phonographically recorded with a minimum of disturbance to the reader.

Given the basic raw material of a number of recorded readings of the text of a poem by various competent persons, the next problem is that of measuring the duration of the several constituent rhythmic units, however these may be defined. For this purpose the glyphic record of the phonograph disc is best transferred to a graphic record, either by photographing the images of an oscillograph, or by the simpler process of photography described by J. M. Cowan. [A Technique for the Measurement of Intonation, Archiv für vergleichende Phonetik, Band 3, Oct. 1939, pp. 223-234], or by the kymographic method, either as devised by Ketterer [K. Ketterer, Die Abschreibung von Gramophonplatten, Proceedings of the International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, 1932, Archives Néerlandaise de Phonétique Expérimentale, La Haye, 1933, pp. 271-277], or by my own process [R-M. S. Heffner, An Adjunct to the Graphic Method, American Speech, February, 1941, pp. 32-38.]

When the phonograph disc has thus been transcribed we face the question of how to measure our graphic records. The physiological movements of the person whose reading of the verse has been recorded are the ultimate causes of whatever experience of rhythm results from hearing this reading. However, these physiological movements do not all record themselves upon our phonographic discs. In so far as an experience of rhythm may be got from the playing of these phonograph records the immediate causes of this experience are sound waves rather than physio-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ernst Brücke, Die physiologischen Grundlagen der neuhochdeutschen Verskunst, Wien, 1871 – and equally applicable to the work of Siegfried Behn, Der deutsche Rhythmus und sein eigenes Gesetz, Straßburg, 1912.

logical movements. To put this concretely: The rhythm of such a sequence as: "Der du von dem Himmel bist," may rest upon the existence of durational units which begin with the physiological tensions involved in the movements of closure for the initial [d] of Der, the chest tension for [h] of Himmel, or the closure for [b] of bist, since these are the releasing movements of the several syllables involved. On the other hand, the rhythmic experience of the hearer of such a sequence may be oriented from the most prominent features of sound in the line, i. e. from the stressed vowels.

To test the latter hypothesis, and as a preliminary step to the analysis of a series of readings recorded for me by a number of my gifted colleagues, I made a recording of one of the poems in what I call a "scanned version." This is essentially the unlovely thing Heusler describes it to be, when he says [p. 46]: "Skandieren, das ist ein ins Lächerliche ziehendes Geplapper mit absichtlich unnatürlicher Sprachmelodie und übertreibendem Hämmern der Ikten, besonders der Ikten auf schwächeren Silben." But it is regular as to the incidence of stresses and that regularity I wished to examine. Having recorded this scanned version on a phonograph disc I then transcribed it on kymograph paper and measured it. Since it was read in what may be called conventional measures, or Takte, I measured these first, and in every case I measured from the onset of one vowel to the onset of the next. The Takt, or measure, Der du, therefore, is treated as extending from the onset of the vowel [e] of Der to the onset of the vowel [3] of von, in the second measure, von dem, and so on. The pause at the end of each line is taken as belonging to the last measure of that line. Obviously, nothing can be done directly with the pause at the end of the last line, since the recording does not indicate its conclusion.

The results of this experiment can be set down by indicating the duration of the several measures in terms of seconds —

Der du von dem Himmel bist, (pause) Total 3.96 /1.04 /1.05 1.93 Alles Leid und Schmerzen stillest, (pause) / Total 4.16 / 1.05 /1.02 / 1.11 / .98 Den, der doppelt elend ist, (pause) Total 3.97 1.92 /.94 / 1.11 Doppelt mit Erquickung füllest, (pause) Total 4.02 /.98 1.97 /1.13 Ach, ich bin des Treibens müde! (pause) Total 4.00 / .93 / .94 / 1.07 Was soll all der Schmerz und Lust? (pause) / 1.00 / 1.02 / 1.08 / Total 4.10 Süßer Friede, (pause) /1.03 Total 2.00 Komm, ach, komm in meine Brust! (pause) / .94 / .91 /.22+.87? / Total 4.00(?) The poem falls into 30 measures, of which the last is indeterminate, as indicated. The mean duration for the series of 29 measures (excluding Brust) is 1.004 seconds. The average deviation from this mean is 0.053 seconds, the standard deviation [sigma] is 0.063 and within this range 74 per cent of the deviations are included. Thirteen of the deviations are positive, thirteen are negative, and three measures show no deviation from the mean. The standard deviation of 0.063 seconds is equivalent to 6.3 per cent of the total length of the average measure, or in musical terms, about one sixteenth note in common time.

The several lines are approximately identical in length, except for line VII [Süßer Friede] and line VIII, the exact length of which cannot be determined from the record. The average line-length is 4.035 seconds. the average deviation from this mean is 0.063 seconds or about 1.5 per cent of the mean. Line VII [Süßer Friede] measures 2.0 seconds, or almost exactly one half the mean line-length. Whereas we cannot measure the last line satisfactorily, because we do not know where the pause after Brust has its end, we may be justified in making the following observation. The average duration of the pauses at the end of the other seven-syllable lines (I, III, VI) is 0.87 seconds. If this be added to what we can measure of line VIII, we find a total line-length of exactly 4.00 seconds. This is exactly twice the length of line VII, and exactly the same as the length of line V, and certainly it is not far from the mean length for all the lines we can measure. Perhaps this pause of 0.87 seconds is the minimum pause after Brust which can be made without destroying the effect of rhythm; but that is mere speculation.

This much may be alleged: The recording of the scanned version sounds regular as we hear it. The measurements as they have been made turn out to be regular, indeed I think we may fairly say, exceedingly regular. Therefore I have been rash enough to believe that perhaps this method of measuring will reveal whatever regularity of time interval may exist in the readings of verse recorded on phonograph discs by those who may reasonably be supposed to know how verse should and must be read. It betrays no secret to say that this regularity is not even faintly similar to that of the scanned version herewith presented: what its underlying principles may turn out to be, I am not now prepared to say. This paper deals only with a method.



## JUST HOW DUSTY WAS THE URFAUST?

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#### MARGRETE

925 Ich fühl es wohl daß mich der Herr nur schont,
Herab sich lässt bis zum Beschämen. [mich zu b.]
Ein Reisender ist so gewohnt 3075
Aus Gütigkeit vorlieb [fürlieb] zu nehmen,
Ich weis zu gut dass solch erfahrnen Mann
930 Mein arm Gespräch nicht unterhalten kann.

#### FAUST

Ein Blick von dir, ein Wort mehr unterhält Als alle Weisheit dieser Welt. 3080

Disregarding the bracketed words and the italics of solch, the above is a reprint from the Urfaust according to Erich Schmidt's edition of the Göchhausen manuscript. Substituting the words in brackets for the Urfaust words just before them, the result is the standard Faust text, aside from mere spelling and punctuation changes; it is also the "Fragment" text. The italics of solch will be explained below.

The standard view of the Urfaust's history is that it was written complete during the period 1773-75, carried so to Weimar in November 1775, and left unchanged right up to the moment (believed to be soon after the arrival) when Fräulein von Göchhausen made her copy; further, that it probably remained unchanged until it was revised to make the "Fragment" during 1788-90. As negative evidence in favor of the standard view we have the complete lack of any hint from Goethe or anyone else that any Faust composition was being done from the departure for Weimar until December 1787 at the very earliest, when Goethe had already spent some time in Italy. On the positive side we have the knowledge that Goethe's interests and patterns of composition changed abruptly when he took up a new style of life at the Weimar court: that he did not write anything else resembling the Urfaust during his first decade at Weimar, so that presumably he did nothing to the Urfaust either; moreover, all his comments during the period from December 1787 until the "Fragment" was published sound as if he were then attacking a task which had been left untouched since the original period of Urfaust composition a dozen years before.2

<sup>1</sup> Erich Schmidt, Goethes Faust in ursprünglicher Gestalt nach der Göchhausenschen Abschrift herausgegeben. Weimar, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> For convenience I quote here from well-known letters from Italy. December 8, 1787: An "Faust" gehe ich ganz zuletzt, wenn ich alles Andre hinter mir habe. Um das Stück zu vollenden, werd' ich mich sonderbar zusammennehmen müssen. March 1, 1788: Zuerst ward der Plan zu "Faust" gemacht, und ich hoffe, diese Operation soll mir geglückt sein. Natürlich ist es ein ander Ding, das Stück jetzt oder vor fünfzehn Jahren ausschreiben; ich denke, es soll nichts dabei verlieren, besonders da ich jetzt glaube, den Faden wiedergefunden zu haben.

This is an argument partly ex silentio, partly indirect and circumstantial, but it has been regarded as complete, as based on all available evidence, and it would be sufficiently convincing if it were not for one thing. We know that during the first period of his residence at Weimar Goethe occasionally - certainly more than once - read parts or all of his Urfaust aloud to groups of acquaintances at the court. Are we to assume that after each such occasion he always piously laid the manuscript away again without picking up a pen to alter a single phrase? Not that he would be likely to make any essential change in the plan or tone of the work, for that would have spoiled the effect, would have frustrated one of his principal aims: to demonstrate that as a young man he had already been able to produce something that was rather magnificent in its own way, even though it was not of the kind he meant to produce in the future. On the other hand, if in reading he noticed a detail of language that was mildly disgraceful because it was, for example, dialectal or grammatically inelegant, it seems possible that he would correct it. cautiously of course so as not to introduce a jarring note. It even seems possible that Goethe under similar circumstances may have made some poetically significant alterations in the Urfaust text: that, during his reading aloud, he may have felt dissatisfied with his original version of some passage, and revised the passage to improve the effect or to remove some awkwardness, carrying out this revision immediately, while the feeling of dissatisfaction still lingered and before laying the manuscript on the shelf again. (That is the explanation suggested here for the existence of three versions of the "König in Thule".) Given the situation - repeated reading of the Urfaust aloud - such alterations of the text would be entirely in harmony with what we know of Goethe's personality and methods of working, indeed far more in harmony therewith than complete avoidance of change. In short, minor revisions in the text of the Urfaust, during the first Weimar period, and even before the making of the Göchhausen copy (unless it could be proved that that copy was made immediately after the first group reading), are to be assumed as a matter of course.

One reason why the case has seldom or never been put this way is doubtless that it is far more comforting to believe that the Göchhausen manuscript has almost miraculously preserved the exact text which came into being during that fascinating period of Goethe's life just before his departure for Weimar. We can see how wishful thinking can give rise to such a myth if we merely pause to look at Erich Schmidt's choice of title for his Urfaust edition: "Goethes Faust in ursprünglicher Gestalt [eureka!] nach der Göchhausenschen Abschrift herausgegeben." This is not to say that Schmidt was cheating, but in such a situation it is easy for a man to deceive himself unconsciously, and to assist others to deceive themselves.

Even when put mildly, a statement like that above may seem uncalled-

for, and for that reason an example will be given here. Only a short time after the first Urfaust publication by Erich Schmidt, Rudolf Kögel pointed out 3 that the Göchhausen manuscript's version of the "König in Thule" is intermediate between the earliest known version (in Seckendorff's songbook of 1782) and the definitive text in the "Fragment" and in the Faust. He denotes the three versions by A for the earliest, U for the Göchhausen version, and B for the Faust version. Now consider his discussion: 4 "Dass die Reihenfolge der Bearbeitungen A U B gewesen ist, ergibt der erste Blick auf die Abweichungen; ich brauche auf das Einzelne nicht einzugehen. Wie ist dieses eigenthümliche Verhältniss zu erklären, da wir doch den Faust in der Gestalt vor uns haben, wie ihn Goethe mit nach Weimar brachte? Falls die Ballade eigens für den Faust gedichtet worden ist, gibt es natürlich nur die eine Möglichkeit der Erklärung, dass sie in Weimar umgearbeitet ist. Aber da wäre das Faustmanuscript, aus dem die Göchhausen abschrieb, wenigstens blattweise nicht mehr 'das erste' gewesen und wir würden in Widerspruch zu der bekannten Stelle der Italienischen Reise (Rom, den 1. März 1788) gerathen; auch würde diese Annahme zu bedenklichen Consequenzen führen. So bleibt nur übrig, die Ballade vom Faust loszutrennen und anzunehmen, dass eine bereits vor dem Faust vorhanden gewesene ältere Fassung A zum Zwecke der Einlage in U umgearbeitet worden sei. Merkwürdig bleibt aber doch, dass Seckendorff, der doch sicher U gekannt hat, die frühere Fassung A componirt und den Text noch dazu mit dem Zusatz 'aus dem Faust' versehen hat. Auch gestehe ich, dass mir die Loslösung des Gedichtes von der Gretchentragödie einigermaassen gegen das Gefühl geht; aber ich sehe keinen Ausweg."

A far better reason why it has been found more convenient to equate the Göchhausen copy to the 1775 Urfaust, rather than to assume alterations ad libitum, is the principle of textual criticism that alterations are not to be assumed without positive evidence of some kind. In the apparent absence of all such evidence, scholars have operated with the Göchhausen version as if it were the 1775 Urfaust, a procedure which is open to criticism only on the ground that it overlooks the difference between author's revisions and copyist's alterations, the latter being the sort of textual change to which the textual-criticism principle properly applies. Yet even this criticism seems captious and fruitless, for what else can anyone do but take the Göchhausen copy as the Urfaust text whenever the Urfaust text is to be discussed? Provided, of course, that it is understood that this is only a useful fiction, and no conclusions are drawn which would be invalidated by discrepancies between the fiction and the unknown reality. It is part of the individual scholar's task to guard

himself against drawing such conclusions as best he can.

It is the purpose of this discussion to show that such discrepancies are far more probable than seems to have been supposed in the past. It has

+ P. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Vierteljahrschrift für Litteraturgeschichte, Vol. 1, pp. 57-60.

been shown that they are probable a priori; we shall now attempt to establish a particular instance of discrepancy, to call attention to a particular passage in the Göchhausen copy which shows overwhelming evidences of having been revised after 1775, by way of supporting the general proposition.

Lacking all substantial evidence external to the Göchhausen copy, and having no prospect of ever getting any, we are forced to look to the Göchhausen copy itself for evidence that it does not always represent the 1775 Urfaust. The evidence must take the form of stylistic discrepancies between particular Göchhausen passages and the whole Göchhausen text: it is not enough to find a discrepancy between a Göchhausen passage and other early Goethe texts, for the Urfaust is to a great extent unique among them. If the search for such phenomena is carried out simply by attentive inspection of the text, the result may well be negative, for it is not easy to discover a discrepancy in a text in which variety is an essential feature of the form, and before a discrepancy can be demonstrated it must first be discovered, must first call attention to itself, which it naturally is not likely to do if the observer is prejudiced in favor of accepting variations, as the sensitive reader of the Urfaust must be.

But with the appearance of the Faust index 5 we have been provided with a tool, an unprejudiced instrument, which will at least point unerringly to any major discrepancy in one feature of style, namely the vocabulary. The completed Faust, Parts I and II, will be denoted by F in the discussion below; the material which it took over from the Urfaust will be called u; and the remaining eight ninths of F will be called F-u, which is to be read "F minus u". For convenience, u will occasionally be called "early composition" and F-u "late composition". In comparing the u vocabulary with the F-u vocabulary, we learn for example that arm, Gefühl, gewiß, vielleicht, and some 60 other words, including dürfen, können, and müssen, are early words, being rather frequent in u and far from as frequent in F-u as they ought to be considering that F-u is eight times as long as u. On the other hand, we also learn something that is more promising for our present purpose, namely that certain words which occur very frequently in F-u, occur rarely but nevertheless occur in u, that is both in the Göchhausen copy and in the final F text. Those which occur exactly once in u, but often enough in F-u (over 30 times) to give a large mathematical probability that their presence in u calls for special explanation, are these: frisch 47, kühn 33, Lust 37, Platz 36, rasch 33, schnell 40, Schritt 38, sogleich 36, solch 96, and ziehen 49 occurrences in F-u.

The unique *u* occurrences of these late words are nearly all quite easily explained away. After all, the notion expressed by *rasch* or *schnell* (occasionally also by *sogleich*) is pretty certain to need expression some-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A. R. Hohlfeld, Martin Joos, W. F. Twaddell, Wortindex zu Goethes Faust, Dept. of German, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, 1940.

where in a text of the length of u, and it is hardly to be supposed that Goethe avoided rasch or schnell in his early years or in the Urfaust type of composition (though we need to remember that avoidance need not be conscious), preferring always to use his favorite word geschwind, as in the 1771 poem beginning "Es schlug mein Herz, geschwind zu Pferde!" or in "O sagt mir doch geschwind!" (F 3008, unchanged from u); finally, "Schnell Herr nennt einen Wein" in the prose "Auerbachs Keller" seems quite inevitable, and "In raschen Jahren geht's wohl an" (F 3089 = u) actually seems indispensable to the scene. Similar arguments seem to be in order for all these ten words, with one exception.

The exception is solch 96, which happens to be the mathematically strongest case. Near the end of the same scene that contains its unique u occurrence, we find the same speaker saying: "Du lieber Gott! was so ein Mann / Nicht alles, alles denken kann!" ( $F_{3211}f = u$ ) and referring to the same person; this seems to be her natural way of expressing the solch notion. Was this also Goethe's natural or only way of expressing it (aside from completely paraphrasing it) in his pre-Weimar years? That seems most unlikely: the word solch was never absent from the Frankfurt dialect as it is from certain other German dialects. But we do not need to pursue this line of argument, for the plain fact remains: in F-u the word solch occurs of times; in u, one eighth as long, we should expect to find in the neighborhood of 12 occurrences. Instead we find only one solch, but we do find so ein (F = u 2862, 2875, 3211, and 3368 at least these four found in a hasty search), so kein (2808), so was (2791), and numerous passages such as 2624 ff and 3361 where solch could easily be introduced in paraphrasing. If it were conceivable that such a word ought to maintain a steady average frequency, this would mean, according to the mathematical theory of probability, that there is a 12000-to-one chance that solch is an intruder in  $F_{3077} = U_{929}$ . We know better than to accept the major premise of this mathematical argument literally, but the figures do at least indicate a very strong probability that solch is not at home in the Urfaust context. Whether Goethe knew it or not, he avoided using solch when he wrote the Urfaust. It is a word which he began to use in Weimar, possibly quite soon after he arrived there, and its presence in the Göchhausen copy is very probably (say by a 100to-one probability) the result of a late revision of the passage in which it occurs.

If solch were not at home in Urfaust context, is it likely that Goethe would risk spoiling the tone of an Urfaust passage by introducing it later? It is not only likely, it is certain that Goethe did precisely that, when he revised another Urfaust passage to make the "Fragment" text. F 3483 reads: "Es muß auch solche Käuze geben." The Göchhausen text for this line reads: "Es ist ein Kautz wie's mehr noch geben." Erich Schmidt emended the line to read mag instead of noch, but the manuscript is undoubtedly correct: this construction is normal Frankfurt

speech, and Goethe used it elsewhere, for example in the manuscript of "Die Mitschuldigen": "So geben's schlimme Sachen", line 331. But when he revised the Urfaust to make the "Fragment" text, his native dialect formula was rejected as inelegant, and the resulting line with the word solch in it reads perfectly easily.

Perhaps a little too easily and smoothly. It has four stress-accents of approximately equal weight, whereas the Urfaust line has the usual dipodic Knittelvers rhythm; it has to be read without the slightest pause, whereas the Urfaust line has a tiny break after Kautz, as is quite usual in Urfaust verse. It was written by a man who had lost the knack of writing Urfaust verses.

Precisely the same is true, and most strikingly so, in F 3077-80, where the unique u occurrence of solch is found. Lines 3077-9 are perfect iambic pentameter, line 3080 is a four-stress line in the same rhythm. The other five-stress lines of the Urfaust do not, with rare exceptions, read as smoothly as these. Here we have five accents of nearly equal weight; in other Urfaust five-stress lines we normally find one of the five depressed, as in F 481, 494, 511, etc. These are not five-stress Urfaust lines; except for their being rhymed, they could have come straight out of "Tasso" or "Iphigenie", and the four-stress line is equally smooth.

On the other hand, the syntax of F 3077-80 is distinctly strained, not free and easy as Urfaust syntax normally is. Solch as masculine accusative without ending is possible, of course, but rare; uninflected neuter accusative arm is a common enough Goethe pattern; but the combination is distinctly harsh, especially with the accusative before the nominative. The asyndetic construction of 3079 is common in Goethe's later works, but does not sound like the younger Goethe, and the shifted position of mehr is not the sort of thing we expect from the Goethe who always found his rhymes so easily. In short, these four lines, to which our attention was called by the intruder solch, read from beginning to end like late composition, not at all like Urfaust lines. Their rhythm is smooth, but their choice and arrangement of words is strained if not awkward, exactly the opposite of what we expect in the Urfaust.

Aside from the word solch itself, the other vocabulary evidence is inconclusive. The word Welt is an early word (u 23 occurrences, F-u only 86, half the expected number), so that there is nothing against accepting it as part of the 1775 Urfaust text, and it could be taken as a starting-point if anyone wished to attempt a reconstruction of that text. The other meaningful words and phrases are not so distributed in u and in F-u as to permit drawing any conclusions, but the facts may as well be assembled here for inspection.

"Ich fühl es wohl" was introduced in F 547 as part of an expansion when the Urfaust was revised; this is the only other Faust occurrence.

Schonen: also in  $F_{3068} = u$ ; in  $F_{4438}$ , "Schone mich!" replaces U "Erbarme dich mein!", prehaps to avoid repetition,  $F_{4430}$  already having

"Erbarme dich" from U; otherwise schonen and verschonen occur five more times in F-u.

Herablassen: occurs nowhere else in Faust.

Beschämen: also in  $F_{3213} = u$ ; twice in  $F_{-u}$ .

Reisen: also in the Urfaust prose "Auerbachs Keller", and in  $F_{3019} = u$  referring to Faust,  $F_{3085} = u$  referring to Mephistopheles, only three times in  $F_{-}u$ .

Gewohnt and gewöhnt, with no consistent difference in meaning; 15 times in F-u, but not in u except here.

Gütigkeit: occurs nowhere else in Faust, but gütig  $F_{3162} = u$ .

Vorlieb = fürlieb: neither occurs elsewhere in Faust.

Nehmen: in u 6 occurrences, in F-u 49: normal.

"Ich weiß recht gut, was nicht ein jeder weiß" F 5809; nowhere else in Faust.

Erfahren: the verb in all forms and 2 compounds, 16 occurrences in F-u, but no other occurrence in u; the only occurrence in Part I (F 1543) is not in the "Fragment".

Arm: an early word: see discussion above, where relative frequencies are first mentioned.

Gespräch: elsewhere only F 861 in "Vor dem Tor".

Unterhalten: elsewhere only F 10244.

Weisheit: also  $F_{2042} = u$  and 6 times in  $F_{-u}$ .

Welt: see above.

Of all these words, only gewohnt and erfahren can be counted as adding anything to the probabilities, and they do not add much; each one has only about a two-to-one probability that it was introduced during the presumed revision. Of the two, erfahren is the better candidate: it stands next to the intruder solch in the same iambic pentameter line. This line also contains a phrase which resembles a phrase from Faust Part II, and the line contains little else.

In short, F 3077-80 as a whole, and in many of its parts, shows evidence amounting to an overpowering probability that it is a thorough revision of several lines, probably four lines, of the 1775 Urfaust, done before the Göchhausen copy was made. The impulse to revise most probably came from the recognition of a linguistic inelegance analogous to that which led to F 3483. The revised four lines appear in the language of a Goethe who had left the style of the Urfaust so far behind him that nothing much more than the word Welt remains to remind us of the Urfaust. Therefore the passage must be called a late revision, and can be taken as a practical proof that Goethe revised the Urfaust to some extent between the end of 1775 and 1787.

It is not easy to guess at what time this revision was done. It is known that Goethe sent an Urfaust manuscript, almost certainly the Urfaust manuscript, to his mother in 1777. We have no record of when

he got it back again, and in the absence of any record it has been universally assumed that he did not get it back until 1787. This assumption, however, appears to be nothing more than a consequence of the Göchhausen infallibility myth. It is only by assuming, rather, that the manuscript was returned to him quite promptly, that we can get a reasonable explanation of what has been observed.

First, the definitely late style of F 3077-80 is not something that Goethe is likely to have acquired within two years after his arrival at Weimar: it is, in fact, the style of the end of his first Weimar period, shortly before 1788. Second, the most reasonable explanation of the dates of the three "König in Thule" versions is quite simply that the Göchhausen text is later than Seckendorff's text of 1782. Thus it is clear that some Urfaust revision was very probably done during the period 1782-87, and the revision in F 3077-80 may well be included in this period; on internal evidence, it most probably must be included there.

Unfortunately the writer of this paper has not been able to find out during what years Fräulein von Göchhausen *could* have made her copy: that would require investigation of the sort that has been difficult, to say the least, in recent years. But if the details of her life and residence at Weimar should prove it to be possible for her to have made her copy as late as 1785, that would be the approximate date which we should have to assume.

Thus it may be taken as proved that Urfaust revisions during the period 1775-87 are to be assumed as a matter of course rather than denied categorically, and that particular revisions, the number and extent of which still remain to be demonstrated, can have been made at any time during this period.



## THE DIMINUTIVES OF PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN<sup>1</sup>

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In 1940 and 1941 Dr. Carroll E. Reed, University of Washington, and I spent the summer in southeastern Pennsylvania recording specimens of the German dialect spoken in that area. During that time we made records 2 of the speech of 76 people in four separate regions. In the questionnaire 3 which we used in our field-work, we had made liberal provision of words and contexts intended to get reliable information about the formation and regional distribution of the diminutives. This article

is based entirely upon the material in these records.

The four regions in which we have made records lie in the Great Valley of Pennsylvania, in the Lancaster Plain and in the Upper Susquehanna Valley. Two regions are in the Great Valley; one of these is western Lehigh County (hereafter called Lehigh), west and northwest of the city of Allentown up to the Berks County line and centering in the village of Fogelsville; the other is western Berks County (hereafter called Berks), west and northwest of the city of Reading up to the Lebanon County line and centering in the borough of Womelsdorf. Berks is approximately 40 miles southwest of Lehigh. The third region is in the Lancaster Plain, in north-central Lancaster County (hereafter called Lancaster), north of the city of Lancaster up to the Lebanon County line and centering in Lititz-Manheim. Lancaster is approximately 20 miles southwest of Berks. The fourth region, in the Upper Susquehanna Valley, is less closely knit than the other three regions. East of the Susquehanna River it embraces the western tip of Schuylkill County, the northern part of Dauphin County and the southern part of Northumberland County; west of the Susquehanna it is restricted to the eastern part of Snyder County. Convenient points of reference are Pine Grove and Hegins in Schuylkill County, Millersburg and Elizabethville in Dauphin County, Herndon and Pillow in Northumberland County, Selinsgrove

and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.", ibid., July 26, August 2, 1941.

2 These records are now in the files of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, under the custody of Professor Hans Kurath, Director and Editor of the Atlas.

<sup>3</sup> The complete questionnaire is given in the Introduction of Reed, Carroll E. and Seifert, Lester W. J. The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks (Brown University Doctoral Dissertation, May 1941, typescript). The following items were included in the questionnaire to ascertain the diminutives: 1. small room(s) 2. footstool 3. corncrib(s) 4. cup(s) 5. little glass(es) 6. kitten(s) 7. colt(s) 8. little pig(s) 9. little lamb(s) 10. chickens 11. cookie(s) 12. small piece(s) 13. little bird(s) 14. village(s) 15. baby(s) 16. little book(s).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Some of the material in this article was first presented in a paper read at the <sup>1041</sup> Christmas meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. Some of the material dealing with the Lehigh and Berks regions also appeared under the titles "Dialect Differences between and within Western Berks and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.", 'S Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch Eck of The Morning Call, Allentown, Pa., March 15, 22, 29, 1941 and "Causes of the Dialect Differences between and within Western Berks

and Middleburg in Snyder County. In the east, this Upper Susquehanna Valley region (hereafter called Susquehanna) is approximately 35 miles

northwest of the Berks region.4

In Pennsylvania German (hereafter PaG) two methods are used to express smallness and endearment. In the one method the adjectival modifier gle:no is used, the equivalent of Standard German (hereafter SG) klein, e. g. as gle: n glo:s 'the little glass'. In the other method one of several possible suffixes is added to the noun stem, e.g. as glesli 'the little glass', as bobal 'the baby', as kobxa 'the cup'. The adjectival method is used in all four regions with varying frequency, especially with nouns where the connotations of smallness or endearment are not very usual or apparent; in the four regions the frequency of the adjectival method decreases in this order: Lehigh, Susquehanna, Berks, Lancaster. No further attention will be paid to the adjectival method in this article. The suffix method, however, is very much alive in all four regions. In some cases the diminutive suffixes are used with nouns where the connotations of smallness or endearment are very unapparent, e.g. as welskarnhaisəlxə 'the corncrib'. In such words the suffixes are perhaps losing their original function. There is also a well-defined regional distribution of the suffix or suffixes used with different nouns. Therefore all the material in our records which is illustrative of this method will be summarized in this article.

The nouns to which the diminutive suffixes are added may or may not undergo a change. There is no change in as bobal, as bobli 'the baby' from di bob 'the doll' and in əs kobxə, əs kobli 'the cup' from dər kob 'the head'. The short o phoneme seems to be especially resistant to change, although there is a change in as fegalxa, as fegli 'the little bird', 'the fledgling' from der fogel 'the bird'. The most common change is qualitative, i. e. the stem vowel is umlauted. In some nouns the stem vowel is always umlauted, e. g. əs bi:xəl, əs bi:xəlxə, əs bi:xli 'the little book' from əs bu:x 'the book', əs saixə, əs saili 'the little pig', 'the sucking pig' from di sau 'the pig', 'the sow'. In other words the stem vowel may or may not be umlauted, e.g. əs se:fli, əs so:fli 'the lamb' from əs so:f 'the sheep', as widsal, as wudsal 'the little pig', 'the sucking pig' from di wuds 'the pig'. Another change which the stem vowel of a noun may

4 Reed made 22 records in Berks and 15 in Lancaster. Seifert made 20 records in Lehigh and 19 in Susquehanna.

The PaG phonemes are Vowels: short i e a o u a longi: e: a: o: u: Diphthongs: ai au oi

Stops: strong p (t) k weak b d g

Fricatives: voiceless  $f \circ f x$  voiced  $w \in S$  Sonorants  $m \cap n \in I$ 

Raised n indicates nasalized vowel or diphthong. The degree of nasalization

varies greatly from speaker to speaker and is often entirely lacking.

The diminutive has retained the original meaning. SG Kopf has been used only since MHG times for 'head'. There seems to be a humorous love for naming the parts of the body after utensils, e.g. English pan 'face'. There is an excellent discussion of the word in Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch Vol. V, Col. 1744-1770.

<sup>7</sup> In Lehigh and Susquehanna many speakers have a long accented vowel in this

word, der fo:gel.

undergo is both qualitative and quanitative, i. e. the stem vowel is both umlauted and shortened. In our records this was recorded regularly with only one word, as glesli, as glesal 'the little glass' from as gloss 'the glass'. It sometimes occurs in as fegalxa 'the little bird', 'the fledgling' with those speakers who have a long vowel in dar forgal, and similarly in as bixal 'the little book'. Both as kixalxa and as kixalxa 'the cookie' from dar kuxa 'the cake' were recorded. It must be said that the last two nouns also occur with a short vowel, as bux and dar kuxa, so that the door is thereby opened to a great deal of vacillation. A third change which nouns may undergo when a diminutive suffix is added is very limited in scope. When a dissylabic noun ends in -al, this ending is either lost or unites with the diminutive suffix. Thus from dar fogal we get as fegal, as fegli, as fegalxa and as feglixa. The gender of all diminutives is neuter.

So far we have recorded 8 diminutive suffixes in the singular and 10 in the plural. These suffixes fall into 4 types: 1) six -l- suffixes, 2) one -x-suffix, 3) two compound -l- and -x- suffixes, 4) one rare -i suffix. Examination of the records shows that some of these suffixes are functionally active and others are inactive. The inactive suffixes were recorded only sporadically and chiefly in the speech of aged informants. Moreover, these suffixes were used only with a few words and seem either to have lost or to be losing their original diminutive function. They may therefore be termed relic suffixes. In Table I all the suffixes are listed according to type and functional status.

TABLE I

The Pennsylvania German Diminutive Suffixes by Type and Functional Status

	Active Suffixes		Inactive Suffixes	
Туре	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Il- Suffixes	ıli	-lin		-li
	2 -əli	-olin		
	3əl	1000		-əl
	4-		-lə	-lə
	5.			-lən
DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY OF	6.			-ala
IIx- Suffix	7xə	-xər		
III. Compound Suffixes	8əlxə	-əlxər		
	9lixa	-lixər		
IVi Suffix	10.		-i	

This is an astonishing variety and it is little wonder that some of the suffixes are inactive. In our 76 records no one person used all of them, nor even all of the active suffixes.8 On the contrary, there are well-defined limits to the regional distribution of any one active suffix, although two or more active suffixes may be used in each region. In Table II the regional distribution of the active suffixes is presented. The inactive suffixes will be discussed later.

TABLE II

The Regional Distribution of the Pennsylvania German Active
Diminutive Suffixes

LEI	HIGH	BE	RKS	LANC	ASTER	SUSQUE	HANNA
Singula	ır Plural	Singular -li	Plural -lin	Singular -li -əli	Plural -lin -əlin	Singular -li	Plural -lin
-əl		-əl				-əl	
-xə -əlxə	-xər -əlxər	-xə	-xər			-xə -əlxə	-xər -əlxər
	-lixər	-lixə	-lixər				-lixər

This table does not give the complete picture, however, and we must now fill in the details. The suffix -li, -lin was recorded only in the western part of Berks in a strip of varying width along the Lebanon County line; eastward it gradually decreases in frequency. In that same western strip of Berks -xə, -xər was rarely recorded. The compound suffixes -əlxə, -əlxər and pl. -lixər in the Susquehanna region were recorded only east of the river; west of the river in Snyder County -li, -lin was recorded much more frequently than -xə, -xər and sg. -əl. In Lancaster -əli, -əlin is commonly used to emphasize the connotations of smallness or endearment.

Some of the active suffixes were also recorded very sporadically in regions for which they are not listed in Table II. Thus sg. -əl was used a few times in Lancaster with the one word əs sdedəl 'the village' instead of the usual əs sdedli from di sdad 'the town', 'the city'. This is undoubtedly a relic suffix in Lancaster. In the case of the two compound suffixes, we do not have enough material as yet to decide whether they are spreading or receding. Sg. -əlxə was recorded only very rarely in the eastern part of the Berks region investigated, but the pl. -əlxər occurred somewhat more frequently. The sg. -lixə was recorded only very rarely in Lehigh and in the Susquehanna region east of the river, but the pl. -lixər was used much more frequently, as a matter of fact, about as frequently as pl. -əlxər. At present it is impossible to decide whether

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Everyone in the 4 regions, however, undoubtedly recognizes at least the active suffixes when used by another speaker. During the field-work our informants often told us that the people in other regions use other suffixes. They were not always right in ascribing certain suffixes to certain regions, but the important thing is that they recognized the existence of a regional distribution of the different suffixes. Of course, this is also true of other features of the dialect.

any one active suffix is spreading at the expense of the other active suffixes, except in the case of sg. -əl, which is receding towards the northeast and which is simultaneously losing its original diminutive function. The latter's homophonous plural, -əl (cf. Table I), has already become inactive even in regions where the singular is still active, and the use of suppletive plurals (chiefly -əlxər and -lixər) may well be contributing to the obsolescence of the sg. -əl, especially since the suppletive plurals have their own differentiated singular forms.

Table II shows that there are at least two active suffixes in every region. Comparatively few of the 76 informants use only one suffix of those active in their particular region. With some words it is impossible to predict which of the suffixes active in a given region will be used by an informant; with other words the same suffix is used by all the informants from any one region; with still other words the same suffix is used in the singular by all informants from any one region, but in the plural different suffixes are used by different speakers. Examples follow.

#### I. LEHIGH

- 1. əs kobxə 'the cup'; pl. di kobxər.
- 2. əs bobəl 'the baby'; pl. di bobəlxər, di boblixər.
- 3. əs sdedəl, əs sdedəlxə 'the village'; pl. di sdedəlxər, di sdedlixər, sporadically di sdedəl.
- 4. əs saixə, əs wudsəl, əs widsəl, əs widsəlxə, əs wudsəlxə 'the little pig', 'the sucking pig'; pl. di saixər, di widsəlxər, di wudsəlxər, di widsəlxər.

## II. BERKS (No words recorded with only one suffix)

- 1. əs kobxə, əs kobli; pl. di kobxər, di koblin.
- 2. əs bobəl, əs bobli; pl. di boblixər, di boblin.
- 3. əs sdedəl, əs sdedli; pl. di sdedlixər, di sdedlin, sporadically di sdedəl.
- 4. əs saixə, əs saili, əs wudsəl, əs wudsli; pl. di saixər, di sailin, di wudslixər, di wudslin.

#### III. LANCASTER

- 1. əs kobli, rarely əs kobəli; pl. di koblin, rarely di kobəlin.
- 2. as bobli, as bobali; pl. di boblin, di bobalin.
- 3. əs sdedli, sporadically əs sdedəl; pl. di sdedlin, sporadically di sdedəl.
- 4. əs saili, əs wudsli, əs wudsəli; pl. di sailin, di wudslin, di wudsəlin.

### IV. SUSQUEHANNA (No words recorded with only one suffix)

- 1. əs kobli, əs kobxə; pl. di koblin, di kobxər, di koblixər (the last recorded only east of the river).
- 2. 25 bobli, 25 bob2l, 25 bob2lx2 (the last only east of the river); pl. di boblin, di boblix2r, di bob2lx2r (the last two only east of the river).

3. əs sdedli, əs sdedəl, əs sdedəlxə (the last only east of the river); pl. di sdedlin, sporadically di sdedəl, di sdedəlxər, di sdedlixər (the last two only east of the river).

4. əs saili, əs saixə, əs wudsli, əs wudsəl, əs widsəl; pl. di sailin, di saixər, di wudslin, di widslixər (the last only east of the river).

At present is is impossible to say very much about the inactive diminutive suffixes. This will have to wait until the usage of a much greater part of the entire PaG area has been ascertained. Therefore it is possible only to list the regions in which a particular suffix was recorded, by how many informants in each region it was used and with what words it was used. All this is presented in Table III. A glance down the second column shows that more of the inactive suffixes were recorded in the Susquehanna region than in any other, and the fourth column shows that these suffixes were used with only a small number of words.

#### TABLE III

an Inactive Diminutive Suffic

	Ine P	ennsylvania G	erman inactiv	ve Diminutive Sumxes
	Suffix	Region	No. of Inf.	Words
1.	Plli	Lehigh	1	di lemli 'the lambs'
		Berks	1	di kebli 9 'the cups'
2.	Plal	All regions	Sporadically	di [dedəl 'the villages'
		Leh., Susqu.		di bingəl 'the chickens'
3.	Sgla	Susquehanna		used it frequently
,			I	əs boblə 'the baby'
			I	əs [di:lə 10 'the footstool'
4.	Plla	Lehigh	1	di se:fla 'the lambs'
		Berks	1	di boble 'the babies'
			1	di sdedlo 'the villages'
		Lancaster	1	"
		Susquehanna	1	"
5.	Pllon	Susquehanna		di gleslon 'the little glasses' 11
6.	Plala	Susquehanna	1	di sdedələ 'the villages'
	Sgi		1	əs wudsi 12 'the little pig'

The existence of so many diminutive suffixes in PaG can only be explained on the basis of the settlement history of the PaG area. Most of the people who settled in this area before the Revolutionary War

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> This is the only instance in which this word was recorded with umlauted stem vowel.

<sup>10</sup> This is an uncommon word for 'footstool'. Usually di fu:sbang, as fu:sbengli, as fu:sbengal, as fu:sbengalxa.

<sup>11</sup> This suffix was used by the one Susquehanna informant who frequently used

<sup>12</sup> This form may be more common than our records show. Lambert, Marcus B., Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect, Lancaster, Pa., 1924, lists wutzli, wutzi, wutzelche, wutzlein (sic!). The interjections wudsi! and wuds! were frequently recorded in all 4 regions as pig-calls. These calls are also used in the English of the PaG area and even in western Maryland and Virginia; cf. Kurath, Hans, "German Relics in Pennsylvania English", Festschrift für M. Blakemore Evans, Columbus, Ohio, 1945 (also Monatshefte, Vol. XXXVII, Nos. 4-5, April-May, 1945) pp. 96-102.

came from southwestern Germany and northern Switzerland. Families and individuals came from the Palatinate, northern Baden, Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Rhine Hesse, the Rhine Province, the Saar, northern Alsace and, of course, Switzerland. Nearly everywhere the Palatines predominated; there was a heavy admixture of Württembergers, stronger in some localities than in others; and the Swiss were rather closely grouped in some regions, e. g. in the Lancaster Plain.

Originally a great variety of dialects must have been spoken in south-eastern Pennsylvania, but in the course of time the processes of dialect leveling wiped out most of these, and since the majority of speakers were Palatines or descendants of Palatines, the varieties of the new PaG dialect are still quite close to the Palatine dialects. However, there are features of pronunciation, morphology and vocabulary which are not Palatine. The number and importance of such features varies from region to region, depending partly upon the original population mixture of a region, partly upon such more imponderable things as the prestige of certain speakers and families.

A number of the diminutive suffixes so far recorded in PaG are examples of the survival of non-Palatine features in PaG. All the PaG suffixes, except one, occur in the dialects of southwestern Germany and northern Switzerland, but not all of them occur in any one German or Swiss dialect.<sup>13</sup> In Germany the regional distribution of the different suffixes varies considerably from word to word, just as in Pennsylvania. In the singular the suffixes used with the SG words das Stück and die Mauer will be discussed, in the plural the suffixes used with das Schaf.<sup>14</sup>

- 1. Sg. -li: Switzerland, southern Baden. The area is the same with Stück and Mauer.
  - Pl. -lin: Sprachatlas Map 59 shows this as the regular plural suffix only in northwestern Baden (once part of the Palatinate) and as a sporadic plural in northeastern Baden, southern Baden and Switzerland.
  - Pl. -li (inactive in PaG): Switzerland, southern Baden. northeastern Baden.
- 2. Sg. -oli, pl. -olin: In the same areas as sg. -li, pl, -lin, but it is less

<sup>18</sup> The following remarks are based upon Wrede, *Die Diminutiva im Deutschen*, Marburg, 1908 (*Deutsche Dialektgeographie*, Vol. 1, pp. 71-144) and upon Wrede et al., *Deutscher Sprachatlas*, Map 59.

14 Unfortunately the collections of the German Sprachatlas for the diminutives are not as extensive as we might wish. Wenker's 40 sentences contain the fillowing singular diminutives: Augenblickchen, Stückchen, Mäuerchen, bisschen; and the following plurals: Apfelbäumchen, Aepfelchen, Vögelchen, Schäfchen. In Diminutiva, Wrede does not discuss sg. Augenblickchen or pl. Aepfelchen. In this article the distribution of the suffixes used with bisschen is not discussed; because of its common adverbial use, this word has a distribution pattern entirely its own. The Sprachatlas has been able to publish only one map of the diminutives, that of Schäfchen, but from Wrede's Diminutiva we know that the suffixes used in southwestern Germany with the three plurals Schäfchen, Vögelchen, Apfelbäumchen do not vary greatly.

- commonly used, and as in PaG, it emphasizes the connotations of smallness and endearment.
- Sg. -al: With Stück in the eastern Palatinate, northern Alsace, central
  and northwestern Baden, southern Hesse-Darmstadt; with Mauer
  only in northern Alsace and in a small area of west-central Baden,
  - Pl. -al (inactive in PaG): Sprachatlas Map 59 shows only two instances, the one near Bergzabern in the southeastern Palatinate, the other near Bitsch in northwestern Alsace.
- 4. Sg. -la (inactive in PaG): With Stück in Württemberg and northeastern Baden; with Mauer in Württemberg, central and northern Baden, southern Hesse-Darmstadt, the eastern Palatinate.
  - Pl. -lə (inactive in PaG): In a small area of the eastern Palatinate along the Rhine, in northern Alsace, central Baden, a strip of southwestern Württemberg along the boundary of Baden (often with nasalization in the last area). It is rather surprising that this suffix, so widely used in southwestern Germany, including even the eastern Palatinate, should have survived in sg. and pl. only as a relic in the four PaG regions investigated.
- Pl. -lan (inactive in PaG): Only in a small part of Baden from Bruchsal through Durlach to Gernsbach, and occasionally in the Neckar region in addition to pl. -lin.
- 6. Pl. -ələ (inactive in PaG): Used in sg. and pl. in the same areas of Germany as sg. and pl. -lə, though it is usually less common, and it emphasizes the connotations of smallness and endearment as does sg. -əli, pl. -əlin.
- 7. Sg. -xa: With Mauer in the western and northern Palatinate, the eastern Saar, the Rhine Province, Rhine Hesse, Hesse-Darmstadt; with Stück in approximately the same areas, but less common than the compound suffix -alxa.
  - Pl. -xər: The western and northern Palatinate, the Saar, the Rhine Province, southern Rhine Hesse, eastern Hesse-Darmstadt. This area is considerably smaller than in the case of the sg. -xə.
- 8. Sg. -əlxə: With Stück in the same area as -xə with Mauer; with Mauer the compound suffix -əlxə occurs only sporadically alongside the usual -xə.
  - Pl. -əlxər: Only in the eastern and southern Palatinate.
- 9. Sg. -lixə, pl. -lixər: So far I have not found the equivalent of this suffix in any German dialect. Therefore I assume that it is a PaG creation and that it is a compound of the two common PaG suffixes -li and -xə. This assumption is borne out by the fact that it is used chiefly in those regions where the -li and -xə areas meet. Its formation is parallel to that of -əlxə, which is common in both Germany and Pennsylvania.
- 10. Sg. -i (inactive in PaG): Chiefly in southern Alsace and Switzerland,

but only as a relic suffix used mostly with the word bitzi 'SG bisschen' and with nicknames such as Gotti for Gottfried and Natzi for Ignatius.

To summarize: PaG has a great wealth of diminutive suffixes. In the speech of 76 informants 10 suffixes of four different types have been recorded, although not all of them are still functionally active. There is a clear regional distribution of the active suffixes. Sg. -xə, pl. -xər and the compound suffixes sg. -alxa, -lixa, pl. -alxar, -lixar are predominant in the more northern and eastern regions investigated, while sg. -li, pl. -lin is predominant in the more southern and western regions. The Susquehanna region has the greatest variety of suffixes, Lancaster has the least. All the suffixes can be traced back to their sources in the dialects of southwestern Germany and Switzerland except sg. -lixo, pl. -lixor, which I assume to be a PaG creation. One suffix used in only a small dialect area of southwestern Germany, pl.-alxar, has become quite wide-spread in PaG; some suffixes used in large dialect areas of southwestern Germany, e. g. sg. and pl. -lo, have survived only as relics in PaG; some suffixes used in only a small dialect area of southwestern Germany, e.g. pl. -lan, have nevertheless survived as relics in PaG. On the other hand, some suffixes used in southwestern Germany, e. g. pl. -lix, have not yet been recorded in PaG. And finally, although PaG is basically a Franconian dialect, in the formation of the diminutives the importance of the Alemannic dialects is shown in the development of PaG.



## Syns vatters nas Albinus aß Das er jn nit hatt gzogen baß

-Sebastian Brant, Narrenschiff, ch. IX, ll. 33-34

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The source of this allusion has puzzled readers and editors of Brant's Narrenschiff since Zarncke in his edition 1 pointed out that this was a variant of a well known tale, and traced it to the Aesopic fable, "The thief and his mother," 2 but was unable to account for the name Albinus. Other editors fared no better with the problem: Simrock in his modernization suggests that "Der Name tut auch nichts zur Sache und der Dichter erfand ihn vielleicht nur zur Versfüllung"; Bobertag offered no solution in his edition; Goedeke in his edition gave a number of references, including what remains the earliest known instance of this version, which contains the solution of the problem, but failed to profit by it — "Brants Albinus kenne ich nicht weiter." Finally, Zeydel in his translation comments that "The story of the man who bit off his father's nose for rearing him as a gallows bird is as old as Aesop, but no known source before Brant mentions the son's name." 6

The interesting history of this tale between its Greek origin and its use by Brant leads us very close to the latter's source, if not to his source itself. In the Graeco-Roman fable a young boy steals toys from his playmates, but is not punished by his indulgent mother. As he grows up he becomes more and more confirmed in his thievish ways and at last, as a grown man, he is condemned to death. As he goes to his punishment he asks that he may be permitted to speak to his old mother. His request is granted, and as he bends to whisper in her ear, he seizes it with his teeth and bites it off. To the astonished mob he explains that if she had corrected him when he was a boy, he would not have come to so wretched an end.<sup>2</sup> This fable disappears from sight until toward the end of the twelfth century, when it appears in the *De disciplina scholarium* attributed to Boethius:

Contumelioso coitus appetitu sanguineum Lucretii filium, Zenonisque discipulum tota Roma flevit inviscatum, qui tamen clarissimis ortus fuit natalibus, quantitatis procerae et sanguineae qualitatis, mirae siquidem eloquentiae, perspicacis ingenii, sed quotidinanis et ultra debitum nuptiis gaudebit, patre poenam deferente, patrimonium enim parentumque census illicite consumebat, cunctisque zelotypis eminebat. Aleis autem et mere-

ET 493, ST 365, 499. Pp. 83, 128, 144, resp.

<sup>3</sup> Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff (Berlin, 1872), p. 321.

Deutsche Nationalliteratur, XVI, 31.

 <sup>(</sup>Leipzig, 1854), p. 318b.
 Walther Wienert, Die Typen der griechisch-römischen Fabel (Helsinki, 1925).

Deutsche Dichter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, VII, 22.
The Ship of Fools by Sebastian Brant (New York, 1944), p. 368 f.

tricum cellulis semper inhiabat. Proprio autem adhuc non destitutus pruritu, postea a parentibus ejectus, tandem ab amicis et consortibus destitutus, a creditoribus undique fatigatus, notis et ignotis furtim studuit assistere, crucis ab angustiis a patre creberrime redemptus, ultimo tamen parentis pecunia redimi non potuit. Cruci ergo adductus eumdem ad se venire lacrymis compellebat, osculumque voce querula petebat. Pietatis autem motio ad filii petitionem patrem erexit, erectique filius nasum morsu secuit acutissimo dicens: Quare a meis primis erroribus incastigatus evasi? Utquid magistri mei documentis non obedivi, sociosque meos contempsi? 7

Here, then, it is told of the son of Lucretius, the pupil of Zeno, with an important change - the mother is replaced by the father, whose nose the condemned son bites off as he stoops to give him a last kiss. In this version the tale was very popular with the collectors of mediaeval sermon stories. I have found it in no less than twenty-six collections, in which the only significant variant is that in a few cases the son bites his father's cheek instead of his nose.8 Of all the twenty-six instances of the modified version the earliest is that of the above-mentioned Pseudo-Boethius, which Paul Meyer dates between the second half of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth; that is, at a time when exempla were first being gathered into larger collections. Here our fable is told with considerable elaboration of circumstance, yet the young man is not named. Immediately before this exemplum is the one about Albinus:

Violentiae autem Albinus Albei filius procedat in exemplum, qui cum esset filius dilectionis, magis vero infelicitatis praecursor, magistro suo Grillo quandoque balbutienti manus injecit sceleratas, ac canitiem ejus venerabilem foedo pedum maculavit ac-

The close juxtaposition of these tales caused them to be associated in Brant's mind. Add this to the demonstrable fact that Brant was often inexact and erroneous in his allusions (a perusal of Zarncke's notes soon makes this apparent) and we see what happened: since the main character of the tale he wished to use lacked a name, he unconsciously supplied it from the closely associated tale of Albinus. Goedeke gave the Pseudo-Boethius reference among others in his note to the lines, but working from notes rather than from memory, failed to recall Albinus.

The next question is, did Brant refer to Pseudo-Boethius or to an-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Migne, Patrologia cursus completus (Latin series), Vol. 64, col. 1227.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of this motif-change see my article, "Fables in Mediaeval Exempla," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, late 1947. For a list of references see Bolte's edition of Pauli's Schimpf und Ernst (Berlin, 1924), II, 261. For convenient reference I cite here only the occurrences in J. A. Herbert, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum (Vol. 3, London, 1910), p. 25, No. 209; also p. 73, No. 153; p. 97, No. 48; p. 169, No. 29; p. 391, No. 296; p. 461, No. 83; p. 469, No. 30; p. 486, No. 91; p. 536, No. 5; p. 592, No. 113; p. 616, No. 146; p. 648, No. 1; p. 679, No. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Romania, XIV, 581.

<sup>10</sup> Migne, loc. cit.

<sup>10</sup> Migne, loc. cit.

other parallel source? I know of only one other occurrence of the Albinus tale in literature, in the didactic poem *Der Renner* by Hugo von Trimberg:

Uns schrîbet der edel Boêcius In Schuoler zühte buoch alsus. Daz von stêter trunkenheit Und ander bæsen gewonheit Ein schuoler wilent, hiez Albin, Einen êrbêrn alten meister sîn Sluoc, der was Grillus genant: Diz tuot er kunt über alliu lant Allen schuolern an sînen buochen. Daz si mit im dem selben fluochen. Ouch schrîbet der selbe Boêcius, Daz der rîche Lucrêcius Ze Rôme hete einen zarten sun. Den strâfte er niht un liez in tuon Mit wiben, mit luoder und mit spil Swes in geluste. Dô er gar vil Guotes dem vater hete verzert, Dem galgen wart er dô beschert. Nu hært wie ez dem vater ergienc! È denne man den sun vor im hienc, Vil manic Rœmer weinte üm in, Wenne er hete vil tiefen sin Ze lernen und einen gar scheenen lîp: Des weinte manic man und wîp. Dô sprach er: "Vater, küsse mich Und vergip mir, daß ich ofte dich Hân beswêrt!" Dô er den munt Gein im bôt weinende, an der stunt Beiz er die nasen dem vater abe: "Daz soltu dir ze lône habe", Sprach er, "daz du von kinde mir Mînen willen hâst gelâzen, daz ich von dir Nu scheiden muoz vil jêmerlîch!" 11

Hugo follows Pseudo-Boethius faithfully, and the only significant variation is his use of the uninflected form *Albin*; since Brant doesn't mention either Pseudo-Boethius or Hugo, his use of the inflected form *Albinus* points to the former of the two. Although we cannot ignore the possibility that he know both, his inexactness would indicate that he did not, since multiple associations strengthen, rather than weaken, memory. Further, a check of a number of Brant's other erroneous allusions against Hugo's *Renner* failed to establish any direct borrowing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Edited by Gustav Ehrismann, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins (Stuttgart, 1909), Vol. 248, ll. 16, 827-859.

## ZUR GESTALTENFÜLLE DES "FAUST"

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In dem allgemeinen bedenklichen Schütteln der Köpfe betreffs des zweiten Geisterchors (in der zweiten Studierzimmenszene) hat Fr. Bruns überzeugend an den Augen- und Ohrenschein appelliert: "Der aufmerkseme Zuschauer wird von selber an die Geister denken, die er schon zweimal gehört hat." 1 Also nicht einen Chor von "bösen" Geistern fürs erste Studierzimmer und einen neuen Chor von guten oder indifferenten Geistern fürs zweite.

"Merkwürdig, wie so viele Exegeten sich an die so wenig teuflische, ja unteuflische Art des Chors von 1607 ff. gestoßen haben, ohne zu bemerken, daß der Schlummergesang im Studierzimmer zum Teil weniger teuflisch, ja sogar direkt unteuflisch ist."

"Nun, auch Mephisto, die letzte Ausprägung des Bösen, ist doch nur ein Teil von jener Kraft, die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft. Auch Mephisto spricht des öfteren sehr weise und unteuflische Gedanken aus. Diese Geister, weit weniger die reine Verkörperung des Bösen als ihr Meister, dienen auch wohl noch mehr dem höchsten Plane und darum singen sie, weil sei nicht anders können, ihr Loblied." 2

Mit dem gründlichen Für und Wider des Brunsschen Geisterchoraufsatzes können wir in den folgenden Fällen nicht operieren. Er sei uns also nicht so sehr vorbildhaft als beispielhaft, ein Beispiel für die Tendenz zur Vereinfachung. Und die folgenden Beispiele sollen nicht bewiesen, sondern nur angedeutet werden. Das Ergebnis sei uns nur Vorwand, der Weg dahin aber das eigentlich Bewegende. Nicht wieviele Personen wir identifizieren' können, sondern das Prinzip der Identifikation, oder einfach, der Hang zur Vereinfachung, sei uns wichtig. "Die einfachere Erklärung ist der komplizierteren und gesuchten vorzuziehen."3

#### 1.

Es handelt sich um eine Grundeinstellung, um eine entscheidende Einstellung - die jedoch über das Drama gar nichts entscheidet. Die kaum für den Betrachter verbindlich ist, noch weniger für das Betrachtete. Je mehr sich der Betrachter freimacht von der Anmaßung, Bezüge im Werke selbst festlegen zu müssen, um so ruhiger kann er sich den zentripetalen und zentrifugalen Winken und Pfeilen aussetzen, den widersprechenden Strömungskräften, die jede Szene des Werkes durch-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Friedrich Bruns, "Noch einmal Faust 1607 ff.", Monatshefte, M. B. Evans number (1945), 20.

2 lbidem, 21 and 24

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, 20.

ziehen. Um so ruhiger kann er sich darauf einlassen, einmal nur die zentripetalen Winke zu Wort kommen zu lassen.

Im letzten Falle wird er z. B. sagen, daß "Volk" in der Valentinszene und "Volk" in der Domszene eines genau so anonym und indifferenziert ist wie das andere, und daß gar nichts dabei herauskommt, wenn man sich "Gretchen unter vielem Volke" von ganz anderen Leuten umkniet vorstellt als demselben "Volk", das in der Nacht egezetert hatte, "da liegt schon einer tot." Die paar mehr oder weniger sind so gleichgültig. daß wir manchesmal fühlen, in der Mordszene handelt es sich nur um ein paar Nachbarn, in der andern um einen ganzen Dom voll Betern; und manches andere Mal fällt uns ein, daß man tatsächlich ein paar Leute braucht, um den Auflauf zu spielen, daß aber die Domszene nichts an Wucht verliert, wenn Gretchen überhaupt ganz allein dakniet, nur das Dies Irae den Raum füllt, und die Stimme des Bösen Geistes aus dem Unsichtbaren raunt. So war es ja meistens bei modernen Aufführungen. Selbst die "Nachbarin" der Schlußzeile wurde durch den bloßen Affekt Gretchens auf die Bühne ,projiziert'. Ob aber greifbar oder nicht, braucht diese Nachbarin gar keine andere zu sein als die, die überall dabei war, die in der Szene zuvor dem Valentin das Beten empfahl. Was aber ist der Vorteil solcher Personalunionen? Daß die Identität von Volk = Volk, von Nachbarin = Marthe und - warum nicht - sogar von Böser Geist = Mephisto 5 die Szene im Dom fest an die vorhergehende Szene kettet, wodurch den zwei wundervollen dramatischen Einzelbildern nichts genommen wird, aber die Kette des ganzen Dramas sich strafft. Je weniger Personen, um so mehr Einheit.

Noch nötiger hätten eine solche Verkettung die beiden Walpurgisszenen. Soweit eine Logik auf dem Brocken überhaupt zulässig ist, scheint es klar, daß der Walpurgisnachtstraum von den Hexenmeistern der vorhergehenden Szene dilettiert wird. Nur in einem Falle scheint die Identität deutlich: der Proktophantasmist — Neugieriger Reisender. Wir wissen, es ist zweimal, oder fünfmal, Nicolai. Nun wohl, warum dann nicht durch dieses Hier- wie Dortauftreten ermutigt auch die "Schöne" mit der "jungen Hexe" identifizieren und "die Alte" mit der

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Besonders Ed. Meyer (Studien zu Goethes Faust, 1847, 83) betonte die zeitliche Verbindung "zwischen dem Mord und der nachfolgenden Szene im Dom...nach der Stellung muß die letztere schon am folgenden Tage (d. 30. April) gedacht werden."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sogar R. H. Grützmacher hält sich von dieser unserer Ketzerei nicht ganz fern in seinem klugen Buch Goethes Faust. Ein deutscher Mythus (1936): "... nennt Goethe den Geist einen bösen, ein Ausdruck, der nach seiner sonstigen Verwendung in der Tragödie auf eine Verbindung mit Mephisto hinweist." (S. 87)

Auch früheste Bearbeitungen verfuhren ähnlich. Siehe über die Radziwills den Brief Zelters an Goethe vom 21. Nov. 1830: "... tritt nun gleichsam persönlich Mephisto hinter die Sünderin, an die Stelle des Gewissens." Schon allein die "Orgel" in der Bühnenbemerkung "hat was Anklagendes, Satanisches in sich." (Brief vom 4. März 1832)

Vgl. noch "Auch Mephisto spricht des öfteren sehr weise und unteuflische Gedanken aus." Bruns, a. a. O., 24.

"Matrone"? 6 Der Hauptspaß dieser unerlaubten Beziehungen ist allerdings, daß ihr böses Beispiel verführt, daß vor unseren erstaunten Augen sich plötzlich das ganze Walpurgisnachtsträumchen zusammenteleskopiert in die Möglichkeit von niemand als den neun Figuren der Walpurgisnacht vom General bis Servibilis gespielt zu werden, die revueartig immer wieder auftreten. Davon ein andermal.7

Einen anderen Ansatzpunkt für die Verknüpfung von aufeinanderfolgenden Szenen bieten die Pagen in Szene 31, 33 und 34 (Lustgarten, Hellerleuchtete Säle, Rittersaal). Wenig ist gewonnen durch die Annahme, daß es sich da um möglichst viele verschiedene Charaktere handeln sollte. Manches ist gewonnen, die Rollen werden persönlicher, gewissermaßen mehr daseinsberechtigt, wenn man sie identifiziert, wenn ein und dasselbe Bürschlein spricht:

"Ich schaffe gleich dem Liebchen Kett und Ringe" (6146) und "Ich bin verliebt, man hält mich nicht für voll" (6359) und "Ich möchte wohl an seiner (Paris) Stelle sein" (6526).

Aber die Pagen sind wieder nur ein Beispiel für viele, sind nur ein Teil der Hofgesellschaft von Sz. 29 bis 34, von Saal des Thrones bis Rittersaal. Und diese ganze Hofgesellschaft wäre sehr wohl als fluktuierendkonsistent zu denken durch alle sechs Szenen. Durch den ganzen Akt I schlänge sich dann die eine Identifizierung:

Hofgesinde 8 (4728) = Gemurmel der Menge (4757 u. a.)

= Chor an Chor (5083) ° = Chor (5290) = Gemurmel (5484)

= Wechselgeschrei der Menge (5715) = Geschrei und Gedräng

= Hofleute (5987) = Hof (6307) = Hof (6377)

Ja die ganzen Nebenrollen, von den Junkern (4732) bis zum Hofmann (6506) sind nur als aus dieser Statisterie des "Hofes" zeitweilig heraustauchend zu denken. In diesem untersten und breitesten Becken des Rollen-

<sup>6</sup> J. Frankenberger (Walpurgis. 1926, S. 14) deutet so etwas an, wenn er erklärt: "(Ariel) lockt (die Fratzen und die Schönen) nicht nur als zuschauende Gäste, er bannt sie zugleich in sein Spiel hinein als mitspielende Figuren."

Auch Düntzer bemühte sich, die Verbindungen zu verstärken, die vom Intermezzo zu dem umgebenden "Hexenheer" (4281, 4311) führen. Witkowski sah nicht diese zwei Stellen, dafür aber 4285, 4305, 4326.

<sup>7</sup> Diese Möglichkeit, samt einem Haupteinwand, hat schon einer der ersten Faustkommentatoren sehr fein gesehen. Ch. H. Weiße, Kritik und Erläuterung des

Goetheschen Faust (1837), 160: "... wie denn die in diesem "Walpurgisnachtstraum" auftretenden Figuren dazu kommen, weniger für wirkliche zu gelten als die, übrigens ihnen doch so gleichartigen, welche in der vorangehenden Scene unmittelbar auftreten? . . . Man meint ein tolles Fastnachtspiel aufgeführt zu sehen, und die Spielenden spielen nur sich selbst . . . So wird denn auch vom Dichter am Schlusse des Zwischenspiels fast absichtlich das Spiel oder der Traum mit der walpurgisnächtlichen Wirklichkeit ver-

wechselt. Derselbe Windzug . . . "

8 Laut Faust-Index hat "Gesinde" wenig zu tun mit "Dienerschaft": 274 Gesinde

= Himmlische Heerscharen; 7240 luftiges Gesinde = Lamien.

Bo besonders klar schon H. Schreyer, Goethes Faust als einheitliche Dichtung (1881). 228: "Hinter diesen Gärtnerinnen . . . mythologischen und allegorischen Figuren haben wir einfach Mitglieder des Hofes zu suchen, welche diese Rolle vertreten."

reservoirs sprudelt es von Übergängen und Verwandlungen – genau so wie da, wo der theatralische Strahl aufsteigt in die Spitzenfiguren Faust, Mephisto, Kaiser, er auch verschleiernd überfließt in angenommene Rollen. Jeder Rang der Figurenhierarchie in diesem Akt, jeder nimmt und

gibt zugleich, und strömt und ruht.

Von geringerer szenenbindender Kraft sind Gleichsetzungen wie die der Imsen und Daktyle (7654) mit den Daktylen von 7622 und den Ameisen von 7104, außer daß dadurch das Greife-Ameisen-Arimaspen-Interludium der ersten Szene am obern Peneios zu einem Präludium wird für die kleine Hierarchie, die unter dem Patronat der Greife sich in der zweiten Szene am obern Peneios aufbaut: der Generalissimus, die Pygmäen-Ältesten, die Pygmäen und die Sklavenvölker. Noch geringfügiger scheint die Gleichsetzung oder vielmehr Aufteilung der "vielen Dienerschaft" (9150) in "Jünglingsknaben" (9157), "Knaben und Knappen" (9181), ja bis auf die "Männer die (Lynceus) andere (Kisten) nachtragen". Ähnlich belanglos ist es, wenn wir "der Helden ungetrennten Kreis" (0443) identifizieren mit den "Heerführern, die herantreten" (9446) und den "Fürsten, die einen Kreis um (Faust) schließen" (9482). Selbst die Statisten im Faust sind so plastisch, daß sie bei jeder Wendung mit einer anderen Seite, in einer anderen Farbe, unter einem anderen Namen, aufleuchten.

2.

Noch einmal sei es zugegeben, daß es in allen diesen Fällen nur eine Frage des Standpunktes ist — den man sogar wechseln kann — ob man differenziert oder identifiziert. Im "Wortschatz der Bühnenprosa in Goethes Faust" hat A. R. Hohlfeld eine reinliche Scheidung der beiden Standpunkte und ihrer Berechtigung formuliert:

"Hier erschienen eine Reihe von Charakteren in wechselnden Rollen, oder in verwandelter Gestalt, ohne daß der Dichter uns darüber immer ins Vertrauen zieht . . . In solchen Fällen haben wir all die verschiedenen Gestalten als eigene Charaktere getrennt bezeichnet . . . "

"Die großartige Unbekümmertheit um alles Einheitlich-Regelmäßige als ein an sich Wünschenswertes, die ein charakteristischer Grundzug der Faustdichtung ist, erlaubt sich weitesten Spielraum in der Verwendung verschiedener Benennungen identischer Charaktere . . . Wir haben, da es sich ja hier stets um einunddieselbe Gestalt oder Gruppe handelt, jeweils nur einen dramatischen Charakter ansetzen und mit seiner Nummer versehen können." <sup>10</sup>

Nun versuchen wir, die schöne Klärung, die im "Wortschatz der Bühnenprosa" erreicht ist, wieder zu trüben durch Anwendung des zweiten Standpunkts auf die erste Kategorie. Aber je mehr wir geneigt sind, die kleineren und wahrscheinlicheren Identifikationen preiszugeben, um

10 Paula M. Kittel und A. R. Hohlfeld, "Der Wortschatz der Bühnenprosa in Goethe's "Faust'," Monatshefte (1944), 325; 2. Auflage (1946), S. 7.

so mehr neigen wir dazu, uns zu fanatisieren für die wichtigeren, die doch unwahrscheinlicher sind! Denn jene kleinen sind nicht nötig; für die nun folgenden Ineinssetzungen aber besteht geradezu ein Bedürfnis: sie sollen die Zentripetalkraft zwischen den weithin auseinandersliegenden Akt-Welten verstärken.

In diesem Sinne würde man entschlossen die Helena in der Geisterszene des I. Aktes gleichsetzen mit der Helena des III. Aktes.<sup>11</sup> Und zur kühnsten Verklammerung von Akt I und III hätte wohl niemand sich verstiegen, wenn nicht Goethe sie selber oktroyiert hätte: "Wer aber ist der Knabe Lenker? Es ist der Euphorion! sagte Goethe . . . " (Eckermann, 20. Dez. 1829).<sup>12</sup>

Wir brauchen allen Mut, der uns aus dieser eigenmächtigen Identifizierung durch Goethe selbst zufließt, für die so ganz anders geartete hypostatische Union zwischen Akt I und IV. Kurz herausgesagt handelt es sich um die Möglichkeit, die sämtlichen Chargen des I. Aktes ineinszusetzen mit denen des IV. Das ergäbe folgende Gleichung:

	Name	Vers	Szenennummer	Charakternummer
			(in "Bühnenprosa")	(in "Bühnenprosa")
	Staatsrat	4728	Sz. 29	98-102
= Kanzler, Heermeister, Schatzmeister, Marschalk			alk	
			Sz. 29, 31	98-101
=	Fürsten	6307	Sz. 33 (34)	275
=	Fürsten	10849	Sz. (46) 47	213, 219-223

Wie die einzelnen Entsprechungen gehen, wie Kanzler und Erzbischof sich ganz, Heermeister, Obergeneral, Erzmarschall sich nur halb und halb, der Schatzmeister plus Marschalk dem Erzkämmerer plus Erztruchseß nur sehr fraglich entsprechen, wie der Astrolog nur zum ersten Staatsrat gehört, wie der überzählige junge Erzschenk adjungiert wird ("So sei mir, junger Held, zum Schenken umgewandelt") – dazu gehört mehr Spitzfindigkeit als uns zur Verfügung steht. Die Hauptsache ist, daß neben dem Kaiser, der die Hauptklammer zwischen Akt I und IV her-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> "Wie verhält sich das Bild der Helena, am Kaiserhof beschworen, zur wirklichen Helena?" fragt E. Beutler (*Goethe-Kalender*, 1937, 76), aber er antwortet nicht. Für J. Petersen aber ist sie nicht nur hier sondern schon in der Hexenküche die eine und ewige Helena. (Helena und der Teufelspakt," *Jb. d. Fr. Dt. Hochstifts*, 1940, S. 202) Und wieder anders Robert Petsch: "Helena, wie Faust sie jetzt begrüßt und gewinnt. steht gleichsam in der Mitte zwischen dem bloßen Phantasiebilde der Beschwörungsszene und dem Idol der historischen Helena." (*Goethe. Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1936, S. 260)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Von den Kommentatorenvor Eckermann hat keiner die Beziehung vermutet. Danach hat sich jeder Eckermann gefügt, manchmal ein bißchen widerwillig (Düntzer z. B.). Bei niemand hat die Ineinssetzung so freudige Zustimmung ausgelöst als bei Hugo von Hofmannsthal (*Berührung der Sphären*, 1931, S. 289):

<sup>&</sup>quot;... wahrhaft musikgemäße Kühnheit und Freiheit... Er sieht im Knaben Lenker, im Euphorion zweimal das gleiche Wesen hervortreten, sieht diese zweite, aus der Blütenkrone der Handlung entspringende Figur in jener ersten... vorausgespiegelt: nichts ist daran dem Sinn unfaßlich, der alles dies für die gewaltigste und sinnvollste Musik zu nehmen weiß, welche jemals von der Phantasie hervorgebracht wurde."

gibt, sich noch eine ganze Reihe von (weniger und weniger haltbaren) Klammern finden lassen.

Wenn schon die Bindung von Akt mit Akt es wert ist, eine fragliche Gleichsetzung zu riskieren, dann erst recht die Bindung von Erster Teil und Zweiter Teil. Wer kann es einem verdenken, wenn er den Ariel vom Schluß des Ersten Teils gleichsetzen möchte mit dem Ariel vom Anfang des Zweiten? 18 oder, wenn er besteht auf der Identität von "Schüler" in Szene 6 und "Baccalaureus" in Szene 35? Der Schüler ist eben nur graduiert, genau so wie der Famulus Wagner promoviert hat zum edlen Doktor Wagner. Und ebenso kann man es einem nicht übelnehmen, der Una Poenitentium nicht gern als neue Nummer eingeführt sieht, sondern nur Gretchen wiederfinden möchte in der höheren Sphäre.

Es wäre gleichgültig, alles dies zu betonen, da es sich doch nur um Alternativen handelt, die sich nicht ausschließen - wenn es nicht gerade bei Faust so wichtig wäre, sich einen offenen Blick für entgegengesetzte, für "polare' Auffassungen zu bewahren. Jemehr man sich von "der fast unabsehbaren Fülle und Vielfältigkeit der Faustischen Gestaltenwelt" 14 überzeugt hat, um so mehr hat man auch das Recht, die Zielstrebigkeit in der Fülle und die Einheit in der Vielfältigkeit anzuerkennen. Sieht man aber die Hauptgestalten der Dichtung an, so könnte man beinahe sagen: Wandelbarkeit der Erscheinung bei Identität des Charakters ist ihr auffallendes Merkmal, zeichnet sie aus vor allem, was wir in der ganzen Theaterliteratur zum Vergleich heranziehen könnten.

Mit Kleinem fängt es an. Mephisto, als Junker gekleidet, rät Faust "dergleichen gleichfalls anzulegen," und in Auerbachs Keller erscheint Faust wohl so. Den Faust nach der Hexenküche aber stellte Goethe sich als ausgesprochen jugendlich vor 15 - "ein braver Knab". Der Zweite Teil beginnt damit, daß der besinnungslose Faust von Elfen innerlich gewandelt wird. Dann tritt er zunächst auf als Plutus und "scheint ein König, reich und milde" und nicht gar so jung, wenn "das gesunde Mondgesicht" nicht trügt.16 Am nächsten Morgen erscheint er als Höfling, am nächsten Abend "im Priesterkleid, bekränzt, ein Wundermann." Dann liegt er einen halben Akt scheintot herum, wieder mehr Renaissancerittermäßig, wenn man was auf Homunkulus geben will (6984, 7053). Und so wird er am Peneios gelandet. Als potenzierter Ritter aber, mehr schon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> So, glänzend, J. Frankenberger (Walpurgis. Zur Kunstgestalt von Goethes Faust. 1926, S. 102); und zweifelnd O. Maurer, "Der Walpurgisnachtstraum," Zs. f. Deutschkunde (1929), 152. , 14 A. R. Hohlfeld, a. a. O., 224; 2. Aufl., S. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Mephisto im Maskenzug vom 1818 stellt die Wirkung der Hexenküche so dar: In einem Wink. eh mans versah,

stand er nun freilich anders da. Vom alten Herrn ist keine Spur; das ist derselbe, glaubt es nur.

<sup>16</sup> Wie sehr auch Plutus Faust sei, suchte H. H. Borcherdt zu zeigen. "Die Mummenschanz," Goethe, Vjss. I (1936), bes. S. 295.

ein mittelalterlicher König, geht er Helena entgegen. Noch mehr Ritter scheint er bei der nächsten Verwandlung, geharnischt und sogar dem Kaiser unkenntlich in seinem Visier. Zurückverwandelt ins Alter, in weit höheres Alter als am Anfang seiner dramatischen Bahn, sehen wir ihn an seinem irdischen Ausgang. Den Leichnam und sein "Unsterbliches" getrennt sehen wir in der vorletzten, nur seinem Unsterblichen begegnen wir in der letzten Szene. Alles das aber ist der eine Faust, Entelechie, Monade.<sup>17</sup>

Alle die zweitrangigen Verwandlungskünstler, die seine Entwicklung begleiten, übertrifft Faust bei weitem; nur einen nicht, den Gefährten, der, was in schwankender Erscheinung schwebt, erst recht nicht sich befestigen läßt. Dies sind die schwankenden Erscheinungen Mephistos: 18

Lustiger Teufel, Sz. 2, (Nr. 7)	als Hofmann, Sz. 31 (Nr. 7)		
Pudel Sz. 4 (251)	als Souffleur, 6399		
fahrender Scholast Sz. 5 (7)	als alter Faust, Baccalaureusszene		
edler Junker Sz. 6	als Luftfahrer 7044		
als Faust, Schülerszene	mit Pferdefuß 7150		
Ritter m.d. Pferdefuß, 4065	als Phorkays 8026		
auf einmal sehr alt, 4092	Phorkyas, Sz. 402-44 (206)		
	als Mephisto, 10038 (7)		
als Hofnarr, Sz. 29	auf Siebenmeilenstiefeln, 10067		
Zoilo-Thersites, 5457 (129)	als Geharnischter? 10547, Sz. 46		
Klumpen-Ei-Otter, 5479 (270)	als Admiral? 11171, Sz. 49		
-Fledermaus, 5479 (271)	als Aufseher, 11511, Sz. 52		
Der Abgemagerte 5645 (133)	Teufel-Flügelmann, 11636, Sz. 53		
Geiz 5767 (133)	alter Satansmeister, (11951)		

4

"Schließlich dürfte doch den Unitariern im Zeichen Goethes und im Sinne Goethes der Sieg beschieden sein," meint Friedrich Bruns am Schlusse seines Geisterchoraufsatzes.¹¹⁰ Vielleicht aber handelt es sich gar nicht um Kampf und Sieg zwischen Fragmentariern und Unitariern. Der Begriff der Verwandlung dürfte eine ganze Skala zwischen ihnen herstellen und für alle Faustgestalten gelten, von den zentralen bis zu den peripherischen. Jede Gestalt ist immer nur eine ihrer Möglichkeiten, die nie erschöpft scheinen: "Entschieden weiß ich gleich zu handeln, in vieles könnt ich mich verwandeln." "Hinweg zu Faust denn, fragt den Wundermann, wie man entsteht und sich verwandeln kann."

"Findet in Einem die Vielen, empfindet die Vielen wie Einen; Und ihr habt den Beginn, habet das Ende der Kunst."

<sup>17</sup> Am prägnantesten hat wohl P. Lasserre Fausts Dauer im Wechsel ausgedrückt, *Portraits et Discussions* (1914), bes. S. 150:

"Tout change, tout passe autour de Faust. Mais en lui quelque chose ne change pas ou plutôt progresse et s'affermit toujours: c'est le courage de l'intelligence" etc.

18 "Mephistopheles wird die Paraderolle der großen Charakterdarsteller. Keine andere Rolle des ganzen deutschen Dramas hat so viel Problematik, so viel geistige Spannungen, solche Vielseitigkeit und Mannigfaltigkeit der Ausdrucksmöglichkeit."

J. Petersen, Goethes Faust auf der deutschen Bühne (1929), 25.

19 Friedrich Bruns, a. a. O., S. 24.

## STEFAN GEORGES A L G A B A L UND DIE FRANZÖSISCHE DE'C A D E N C E

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"... die Dichtung ALGABAL [hat] nichts von dem unverkennbaren Pariser Parfüm der Baudelaire-Gedichte, nichts von dem besonderen Zeitduft des französischen Verfalls, sie faßt die Endzeit in ihren einfachen menschlichen Grundspannungen und wenn etwas von spätrömischer Luft sie durchweht so deshalb weil der Dichter eine endende Kultur nur dort versinnbildlichen kann, wo sie in großen Figuren nicht wie heute im Massenelend oder Massenaufstieg erscheint." <sup>1</sup>

Sowie sie auf die Beziehungen des jungen George zu den französischen décadents und symbolistes zu sprechen kommen, geraten bekanntlich die Mitglieder des "Kreises" - und mit und nach ihnen nahezu alle anderen, die sich dem Dichter gegenüber nicht ausgesprochen ablehnend verhalten 2 - in die etwas unangenehme Lage, einerseits die geistige und künstlerische Überlegenheit der "westlichen Freunde" allen damaligen deutschen Anstrengungen gegenüber gebührend herausstreichen zu müssen, ohne dadurch anderseits dem Meister durch etwa leichtfertig anzunehmende Abhängigkeit von den Franzosen oder gar direkte Beeinflussung durch die letzteren den mindesten Abbruch zu tun. Die in dieser Hinsicht etwas voreilig aufgestellten Behauptungen der "westlichen Freunde", George sei der Abkömmling Baudelaires, Verlaines und Mallarmés, er habe die von ihnen gepflegte Kunst nach Deutschland verpflanzt,3 werden mit höflichem Lächeln zurückgewiesen: gleich zu Anfang durch Karl August Klein 4 und dann wieder nahe am Ende durch Friedrich Wolters,5 als sich die "Freunde" immer noch nicht eines Besseren hatten belehren lassen, sondern in den Stefan George zum 60. Geburtstage gewidmeten Aufsätzen und Erinnerungen mit geringfügigen Einschränkungen auf ihren irrigen Anschauungen beharrten.6 Aus Friedrich Wolters' eingehender Darstellung der Entwicklung des Dichterkreises und seines Verhaltens gegenüber aller Kritik geht jedenfalls hervor, daß der "Kreis" den "westlichen Freunden" jederzeit wohlwollte: mögen die Franzosen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Friedrich Wolters, Stefan George und die Blätter für die Kunst. G. Bondi, Berlin 1930, S. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Als charakteristische Ausnahmen dürfen Fritz Strich, Stefan George, Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde, 1925, S. 542-556, und K. J. Obenauer, Die Problematik des ästhetischen Menschen in der deutschen Literatur, C. H. Beck, München 1933, S. 397-403, gelten.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Albert Saint-Paul in der Revue l'Ermitage, 1891. Saint-Paul wiederholt seine damaligen Ausführungen in der Revue d'Allemagne, Nov.-Dez. 1928, S. 402 f.

<sup>4</sup> Blätter für die Kunst, 1. Folge, Bd. 2 (1892).

<sup>5</sup> Wolters, S. 22, 46.

<sup>6</sup> Revue d'Allemagne, Nov.-Dez. 1928, S. 385-505.

immerhin behaupten, der Titel Blätter für die Kunst sei ihren Ecrits pour l'Art entliehen, Wolters bucht freundlich die Tatsache und läßt es dabei bewenden.7

Grundverschieden aber ist die Haltung gegenüber allen einheimischen Bemühungen - in Frage kommen hier natürlich nur die, anfangs freilich recht spärlich fließenden, positiven - George und seinem Kreis Verständnis entgegenzubringen. Da werden selbst diejenigen, die weit tiefer Schürfendes zu sagen haben als die recht freundlichen, aber über die Georgesche Dichtung doch nicht eben Bedeutendes vorbringenden Glassen eines Saint-Paul, sehr ungnädig abgeführt. Es mag diese unterschiedliche Haltung daran liegen, daß die "westlichen Freunde" allesamt als gesalbte Dichter gelten, wogegen daheim ja niemand als Dichter anerkannt wird außer denjenigen, die selbst zum "Kreis" zugelassen sind. Die sich außerhalb des "Kreises" in Deutschland um die Dichtung Georges Bemühenden: Kritiker, Philosophen, Professoren, sind, so will es scheinen, Leute, denen kaum ein Urteil zuzutrauen ist, wenigstens nicht in der frühen Zeit. Später verzeichnet Wolters dann allerdings mit offenkundiger Genugtuung die Tatsache der "tief verwandelten Stellung der öffentlichen Meinung in Deutschland über die Dichtergemeinschaft der Blätter für die Kunst" und scheint sich sogar zu freuen über die "ernsten Gelehrten", die "ihren früheren Irrtum" mittlerweile eingestanden haben.8

Wie zu erwarten, kommt die doppelte Abwehrhaltung - freundlichliebenswürdig gegenüber den Franzosen, überheblich-schroff gegenüber der einheimischen Kritik - am eigentümlichsten zum Ausdruck im Zusammenhang mit dem 1892 in Paris entstandenen Algabal. Da sich die Beziehungen der Algabal-Dichtung zur französischen Décadence nicht einfach glatt von der Hand weisen lassen, so wird geradezu hymnisch darauf bestanden, daß George mit diesem Zyklus "der Gipfel und das Ende jener dichterischen Kunst" sei, von der die Franzosen geträumt hätten,9 daß er die Dichtung geschaffen habe, "damit keine Nötigung für ein kommendes Geschlecht bliebe, sich an diesen Gefahren der Spätzeiten zu versuchen", daß vor allem der Algabal nichts habe von dem "Pariser Parfüm" und dem "besonderen Zeitduft des französischen Verfalls." 10

Die von Gundolf wie von Wolters aufgestellte Behauptung, die Franzosen hätten es nicht vermocht, sich über die Erlesenheiten und Verderbtheiten des Verfalls zu erheben, seien darin verhaftet geblieben, soll hier nicht weiter untersucht werden. Ebenso sei, um jedwedem Mißverständnis von vornherein vorzubeugen, gleich hier Gundolf, Wolters und allen übrigen ausdrücklich darin beigestimmt, daß der Algabal für George Durchgangsstadium war, daß er sich in den späteren Werken zu einem weit bedeutenderen und tieferen Dichter entwickelt hat als die

<sup>7</sup> Wolters, S. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Wolters, S. 493, 495. 9 Friedrich Gundolf, George. G. Bondi, Berlin 1920, S. 85.

<sup>10</sup> Wolters, S. 39-40.

Algabalstufe darstellt. Hier soll lediglich die Frage der Zugehörigkeit des Algabal zur Décadence erörtert werden.

Die stets liebenswürdig-ablehnende Haltung des "Kreises" gegenüber dem Anspruch der Franzosen, George für ihren Jünger und Schüler zu erklären, sticht aufs schärfste ab gegen die Art, die an den Tag gelegt wird, wenn man in Deutschland versucht, nun auch genauere Zusammenhänge nachzuweisen. So wird Richard M. Meyer für seinen von wirklich feiner Einfühlungsgabe und ungewöhnlichem Scharfsinn zeugenden Aufsatz "Ein neuer Dichterkreis",11 der dem "Kreise" und seinen bis dahin (1897) nur wenig bekannt gewordenen dichterischen Erzeugnissen sowie seinen angekündigten Bestrebungen so viel Verständnis entgegenbrachte wie er von einem Außenstehenden nur immer wünschen konnte, von Wolters als "der kleine Berliner Professor" abgekanzelt, augenscheinlich weil Meyer bei Waclaw Lieder die "Demut des echten Künstlers" vermißt hatte.12 Die Zitate, die Wolters aus dem Aufsatz Meyers bringt, scheinen geradezu mit Absicht so ausgewählt und interpretiert, daß der Eindruck entstehen kann, Meyer habe sich allerdings und durchweg eines ihm von Wolters vorgeworfenen "Plaudertones" bedient.13 Das gerade Gegenteil ist der Fall. Jedenfalls geht Wolters mit keiner Silbe auf Einzelheiten ein, die Meyer zweifellos nicht nur richtig erkannte, die auch - wenigstens was den Algabal angeht - meines Wissens seitens der deutschen George-Kritik nicht mit auch nur annähernder Berücksichtigung der gewiß weitverzweigten Zusammenhänge wiederholt worden sind. Das überrascht umso mehr, als natürlich auch von Meyer bei weitem nicht auf alles hingewiesen ist, was angeführt werden könnte, denn Meyer bezieht sich nur auf das Unterreich Algabals. Aber in Hinsicht auf den gesamten Algabal-Zyklus will es allerdings so scheinen, als habe der "Kreis" es von Anfang an verstanden, durch seine mit ungeheuer überheblicher und verächtlicher Geste ausgeführte Totschweigung aller Deutungsversuche die deutsche George-Kritik - gemeint ist immer nur diejenige, die George überhaupt positiv gegenübersteht - so lange einzuschüchtern, bis die vom "Kreis" selbst vorgezeichneten Richtlinien so weit feststanden,14 daß man mit einiger Sicherheit auf zuverlässiges Nachbeten und Nachtreten seitens der Außenstehenden rechnen konnte.

Der sich auf den Algabal beziehende Passus aus Meyers Aufsatz verdient (mit Ausnahme eines Zitats aus der Dichtung selbst) vollständig wiedergegeben zu werden:

"Im Algabal ist das Ziel erreicht: ein weltfremder Graltempel nicht der Weisheit oder Tugend, sondern der Schönheit. Der Weltbeherrscher wird sprechende Person, dessen ungeheure Mit-

<sup>11</sup> Preußische Jahrbücher, 88 (1897), S. 33-54.
12 Wolters, S. 157. Meyer macht die Bemerkung a. a. O., S. 54,
18 Wolters, S. 156 f.

<sup>14</sup> bis nach langem Schweigen "plötzlich und aus heiterem Himmel die Bücher der Propheten und Evangelisten erscheinen" - Fritz Strich, a. a. O., S. 543.

tel grade genügen, um einen harmonischen Traum vollkommener Herrlichkeit Wirklichkeit werden zu lassen.

Dieser Kaiser in seiner einsamen Pracht ist ein Symbol des Dichters im Traumreich, dem alle Wunder der Welt nur gut genug sind als Bausteine zu dem erträumten Märchentempel. Dies Symbol selbst hat seine Geschichte, in der Wirklichkeit so gut wie in der Poesie. In der Wirklichkeit, wo jener vorletzte Herzog von Portland, den Villiers de l'Isle-Adam zu dem Helden einer grausigen Erzählung machte, menschenscheu sich unter der Erde einen prachtvollen Palast baute, in dem er sich von unsichtbaren Händen bedienen ließ; in der Dichtung, wo Baudelaire sich eine außernatürliche Landschaft erträumte, ganz aus Metall, Marmor und Wasser, mit Edelsteinen und Glas, statt mit den zu unregelmäßigen Pflanzen besetzt. Bis dann Dichtung und Wirklichkeit sich die Hände reichen in König Ludwigs anachronistischen Schlössern oder in der künstlichen Welt von Huysmans' A rebours, deren Heros dem Dichter Robert de Montesquiou nachgebildet ist. Überall haben wir hier das Bestreben, eine ideal schöne Welt künstlich herzustellen, in deren Mitte einsam und unbeschränkt der Dichter-König träumen kann." 15

Man kann sich angesichts des Verhaltens von Wolters gegenüber Meyer - 33 Jahre nach dem Erscheinen von Meyers Aufsatz! - des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, daß Meyer ihm hier anscheinend zu viel gesehen hat. La recherche de la paternité est interdite. Der Meister wird absichtlich in geheimnisvolles Dunkel gehüllt, er selbst mahnt ja in der "Vorrede der zweiten Ausgabe" im Jahr der Seele: "man möge doch (wie ohne widerrede bei darstellenden werken) auch bei einer dichtung vermeiden sich unweise an das menschliche oder landschaftliche urbild zu kehren". Daß das literarische "Urbild" auch nicht einmal der Erwähnung wert gehalten wird, versteht sich von selbst.

Es soll hier nun auf Basis von Meyers Ausführungen natürlich nicht nur oberflächliche "Parallelenjägerei" betrieben werden. Meyers Hinweise aber gänzlich unter den Tisch fallen zu lassen, wie es in der deutschen George-Forschung tatsächlich geschehen zu sein scheint, ist nichts weniger als billig.

Die Begegnung Georges mit den französischen Symbolisten ist uns aus den Erinnerungen Albert Mockels 16 und Albert Saint-Pauls 17 sowie aus der Darstellung von Friedrich Wolters bekannt: der zwanzigjährige George kommt im März 1889 zum ersten Mal nach Paris, wird am Tage seiner Ankunft in seinem Hotel mit Albert Saint-Paul bekannt, durch ihn in die französische Dichtung eingeführt. Durch Saint-Pauls Vermittlung lernt er Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Henri de Régnier, Francis Viélé-Griffin,

<sup>15</sup> Meyer, a. a. O., S. 40 f.

<sup>16</sup> Quelques Souvenirs sur Stefan George. Revue d'Allemagne, Nov.-Dez. 1928, S. 385-396.

17 Stefan George et le symbolisme français. Ebenda, S. 397-405.

Achille Delaroche, Albert Mockel, Jean Moréas, Stuart Merrill u. a. kennen, dann endlich auch Stephane Mallarmé, an dessen Dienstagabenden er teilnimmt. Die Symbolisten führen ihn in das Werk Baudelaires ein. und er beginnt die Übersetzung (Umdichtung) der Fleurs du Mal. Er lernt Verlaine kennen, den er hochverehrt. Im August 1889 nimmt er am Begräbnis Villiers' teil.18

Das sind rein äußerliche Tatsachen, und doch verbirgt sich vielleicht mehr dahinter als man auf den ersten Blick annehmen möchte: Baudelaire, Villiers, Mallarmé, Verlaine und mit ihnen nahezu alle übrigen symbolistes und décadents sind begeisterte Verehrer der Musik Wagners. Villiers wird 1861 durch Baudelaire mit Wagner bekannt und ist seither eng mit ihm befreundet, widmet ihm, "au prince profonde de la musique", eine seiner Dichtungen,19 weilt 1868 und 1870 bei ihm in Deutschland, wo er den Aufführungen von Wagners Musikdramen beiwohnt (übrigens auch recht freundlich über München und die Bayern zu plaudern weiß), von Wagner bei Ludwig II. eingeführt wird und am bayrischen Hofe seinen Tribulat Bonhomet vorliest.20

Ein Jahr vor der Ankunft Georges in Paris hatte Verlaine sein Sonett A Louis II de Bavière erscheinen lassen:

> Roi, le seul vrai roi de ce siècle, salut, Sire, Qui voulûtes mourir vengeant votre raison Des choses de la politique, et du délire De cette Science intruse dans la maison.

De cette Science assassin de l'Oraison Et du Chant et de l'Art et de toute la Lyre, Et simplement et plein d'orgueil en floraison Tuâtes en mourant, salut, Roi, bravo, Sire!

Vous fûtes un poète, un soldat, le seul Roi De ce siècle où les rois se font si peu de chose, Et le martyr de la Raison selon la Foi.

Salut à votre très unique apothéose, Et que votre âme ait son fier cortège, or et fer, Sur un air magnifique et joyeux de Wagner.21

Der Darstellung von Wolters zufolge – aber für ihn gibt es ja nur ein Maß aller Dinge: den Meister - hat sich Goerge durch eine "dunkle Neigung" zu Ludwig II. hingezogen gefühlt, "seit er am 13. Juni 1886 im Theater zu Mannheim während eines Zwischenaktes die Nachricht seines tragischen Todes unter der erschütterten Menge der Besucher miterlebte." 22 Wolters erwähnt diese wahlverwandtschaftliche Hinge-

19 E. de Rougemont, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Mercure de France, Paris 1910, S. 126.

22 Wolters, S. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Wolters, S. <sup>22</sup> – George feiert bekanntlich Villiers, Verlaine, Mallarmé und die "Freunde" in dem Gedicht *Franken* im *Siebenten Ring*, vgl. Stefan George, Gesamtausgabe, Bd. VI-VII, S. 19.

Rougemont, S. 127-131, 147-149.
 aus Amour, 1888. Vgl. Paul Verlaine, Oeuvres Complètes, Librairie Léon Vanier, Paris 1910, II, S. 41.

zogenheit zu Ludwig II. erst im Zusammenhang mit Georges Besuch der bayrischen Königsschlösser im Jahre 1891, also nach einem inzwischen (1890) erfolgten zweiten Pariser Aufenthalt.<sup>23</sup> Drängt sich nun nicht unwillkürlich die Frage auf, ob nicht George, der ja doch in Deutschland überhaupt nichts vorgefunden hatte, das ihn hätte anziehen können, erst durch die westlichen Freunde auf den "verhöhnten Dulderkönig," wie er ihn in der Aufschrift des Algabal feiert, hingelenkt worden sei?

2.

Das von Meyer erwähnte Gedicht Baudelaires – es handelt sich um "Rêve Parisien" – fehlt sonderbarerweise in Georges Übersetzung der Blumen des Bösen. Es bestehen aber auffallende Ähnlichkeiten zu allen Teilen des Unterreiches Algabals, besonders zum Gedicht "Mein garten bedarf nicht . . . "Es seien nur einige Strophen zitiert:

Le sommeil est plein de miracles! Par un caprice singulier, J'avais banni de ces spectacles Le végétal irrégulier.

Et peintre fier de mon génie, Je savourais dans mon tableau L'enivrante monotonie Du métal, du marbre et de l'eau.

Non d'arbres, mais de colonnades Les étangs dormants s'entouraient . . .

Architecte de mes féeries, Je faisais, à ma volonté, Sous un tunnel de pierreries, Passer un océan dompté.

Nul astre d'ailleurs, nul vestiges De soleil, même au bas du ciel, Pour illuminer ces prodiges, Qui brillaient d'un feu personnel!

Et sur ces mouvantes merveilles Planait (terrible nouveauté! Tout pour l'oeil, rien pour les oreilles!) Un silence d'éternité.

Genau wie im *Unterreich* des Algabal ist der Dichter auch hier der Architekt seiner eigenen Zaubereien, der selbstherrlich eine künstliche Landschaft erbaut aus Metallen, Marmor, Wasserflächen, unerhörten Edelsteinen. Auch diese künstliche Welt kennt weder Pflanzen- noch Tierleben, noch das natürliche Licht.

<sup>28</sup> Wolters, S. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Fleurs du Mal, CXXVI, vgl. Charles Baudelaire, Oeuvres Complètes, Edition définitive, Calmann-Lévy, Paris o. J., I, S. 204 ff.

Daß die "abschreckenden und widrigen bilder, die den Meister [Baudelaire] eine zeitlang verlockten",25 George selbst abstießen, besonders diejenigen, die sich auf das Sinnliche, Animalische und Dämonische der zweigeschlechtlichen Liebe und die für Baudelaire damit verbundenen Qualen beziehen - daß er diese Gedichte entweder unterdrückte oder abschwächte und umbog,26 ist bei Georges eigener Neigung zur Gleichgeschlechtlichkeit verständlich.27 Was aber hätte ihn dazu bewegen können, gerade dieses Gedicht Baudelaires nicht zu übersetzen, das ihn doch ganz besonders hätte anziehen müssen? Sollte es sich hier tatsächlich nicht um die bewußte Unterdrückung eines literarischen "Urbilds" von Agabals Unterreich handeln?

Im Zusammenhang mit Baudelaire und Algabal verweist Gundolf nachdrücklich auf Baudelaires Paradis artificiels,28 Wolters ebenso auf diese und auf die Fleurs du Mal.29 Keiner von beiden erwähnt das Gedicht "Rêve Parisien". Man kann jedenfalls die Frage erheben warum, wenn dieses Gedicht ihnen so ganz belanglos hat erscheinen können, sie dann gar so viel Aufhebens wegen der Paradis artificiels machen. Denn diese halb-philosophischen, halb-physiologischen, vor allem aber stark moralisierenden Prosa-Betrachtungen Baudelaires über Haschisch, Opium und Wein (der weitaus größte Teil besteht aus einer Nacherzählung der Confessions of an English Opium Eater des Thomas De Quincy) 30 haben mit dem Algabal recht wenig zu schaffen - es sei denn, daß Gundolf und Wolters die paar Stellen, an denen Baudelaire in ganz allgemein gehaltenen Worten erklärt, der unter dem Einfluß der Rauschmittel stehende Mensch erliege der Wahnvorstellung seiner eigenen Apotheose, verliere jeden Bgriff von Raum und Zeit, versetze sich in eine Märchenwelt u. dgl. m., 81 tatsächlich für bedeutsam genug hätten halten können, um einen Zusammenhang mit dem Algabal ausdrücklich zu verneinen. Man steht vor einem Rätsel, wenn Gundolf behauptet, Baudelaires Paradis

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Vorrede der ersten Ausgabe der Blumen des Bösen, vgl. Stefan George, Gesamtausgabe, Bd. XIII-XIV

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> s. Freya Hobohm, Die Bedeutung französischer Dichter in Werk und Welt-bild Stefan Georges (Baudelaire, Verlaine, Mallarmé), Kölner Romanistische Arbei-ten, Bd. 3, 1931 S. 20-26. Im übrigen steht diese Arbeit ganz unter dem Einfluß der Proklamationen des "Kreises", dessen Theorien bezüglich Georges konsequenter Eigengesetzlichkeit und Unabhängigkit sie als Tatsachen hinnimmt und durch Einzeluntersuchungen zu stützen sucht. Letztere beziehen sich vielfach auf Georges Übertragungen aus den Werken der genannten Franzosen. Hinsichtlich des Algabal werden geringfügige äußerliche Ähnlichkeiten mit Mallarmés Hérodiade zugestanden (S. 139 ff.). Weiter sagt Hobohm: "Auf inhaltliche Entlehnung oder Übereinstimmung in der Themawahl wurde nicht eingegangen, da hier sich jeder ohne weiteres Gewißheit verschaffen kann, daß George stofflich selbständig seine Welt aufbaute."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> vgl. Willi Koch, Stefan George. Weltbild, Naturbild, Menschenbild, Max Niemeyer, Halle 1933, S. 75 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Gundolf, S. 85. 29 Wolters, S. 39.

<sup>30</sup> Baudelaire, Oeuvres Complètes, IV, S. 155-383.
31 Ebenda, S. 213, 215, 216, 288. Im Algabal (im letzten Gedicht der Andenken) wird allerdings auch einmal der "saft des hanfes" erwähnt, vgl. George, Gesamtausgabe, Bd. II, S. 121.

artificiels (und Mallarmés Herodias, was halbwegs hingehen mag) seien "die höchsten Anstrengungen dieses [französischen] Formtitanentums", oder wenn Wolters beteuert, George habe sich in Paris "mit der ganzen Just des Werkbegierigen dieser Welt der Künstlichen Paradiese und Blumen des Bösen" (was für die letzteren natürlich gelten darf) hingegeben. Sollte man annehmen dürfen, daß es sich hier um eine mehr oder minder bewußte Ablenkung handelt, die vor allem mit dem Wortlaut des Titels Paradis artificiels spielt? Zum mindesten ist man versucht zu fragen, ob Gundolf und Wolters sich Baudelaires Paradis artificiels einmal näher angesehen haben.

### 3.

Daß George Villiers' kleine Erzählung Duke of Portland <sup>32</sup> gekannt hat, ist wahrscheinlich. Ob er von ihr "beeinflußt" worden ist, läßt sich natürlich nicht "beweisen" und tut wenig oder nichts zur Sache. Daß aber das Unterreich Algabals sowie dessen "qualvolle Trennung von den Mitlebenden" <sup>33</sup> in mehr als oberflächlicher Weise an das "Unterreich" erinnern, das sich der in der Levante vom Aussatz befallene Herzog von Portland im Verließ seines väterlichen Schlosses herrichten läßt, um dort einsam zu hausen, ist wenigstens der Beachtung wert. Ähnlich wie Algabal – freilich nicht im Unterreich – in seiner Vereinzelung als "Festordner" über dem "Rosenfest" <sup>34</sup> steht, gibt der Herzog seinen Gästen rauschende Feste, auf denen er selbst nicht erscheint.

"Lord Richard . . . habitait, solitairement, le donjon même . . . Dès son retour, il avait fait recouvrir, par d'immenses glaces de Venise, les murailles et les voûtes des vastes souterrains de cette demeure. Le sol en était maintenant dallé de marbres et d'éclatantes mosaïques. — Des tentures de haute lice, entr'ouvertes sur des torsades, séparaient, seules, une enfilade de salles merveilleuses où, sous d'étincelants balustres d'or tout en lumières, apparaissait une installation de meubles orientaux, brodés d'arabesques précieuses, au milieu de floraisons tropicales, de jets d'eau de senteur en de vasques de porphyre et de belles statues.

Là, sur une amicale invitation du châtelain de Portland, "au regret d'être absent, toujours", se rassemblait une foule brillante, toute l'élite de la jeune aristocratie de l'Angleterre, des plus séduisantes artistes ou des plus belles insoucieuses de la gentry... Et il se commençait alors une nuit princièrement libre...

Ainsi à minuit, s'étouffaient, sous terre, à Portland, dans les voluptueuses salles, au milieu des capiteux aromes des exotiques fleurs, les éclats de rire, les baisers, le bruit des coupes, des chants enivrés et de musique!" 35

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Contes Cruels (1883), s. Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Oeuvres Complètes, Mercure de France, Paris o. J., II, S. 101 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Ernst Morwitz, Die Dichtung Stefan Georges, G. Bondi, Berlin 1934, S. 36.

<sup>34 &</sup>quot;Becher am boden"., Gesamtausgabe, II, S. 104 f. 35 Villiers, Oeuvres Complètes, II, S. 105 f.

## 4.

Was aber am meisten überrascht, ist die Tatsache, daß J.-K. Huysmans, der sowohl mit Villiers wie auch mit Mallarmé eng befreundet war (er hatte sich Villiers' während seiner letzten Krankheit angenommen und zusammen mit Mallarmé die Anstalten für das Begräbnis, an dem George ja doch teilgenommen haben soll, getroffen 36), so gut wie gar nicht erwähnt wird. Wolters, der doch sonst so gerne den Meister mit den Namen bedeutender Franzosen in Verbindung bringt, erwähnt Huysmans nur im Zusammenhang mit dem Aufruf eines im Herbst 1892 in Frankreich gebildeten größeren Ausschusses für ein Baudelaire-Denkmal, in dem George "als einziger deutscher Dichter" vertreten war. Allerdings wird Huysmans von Gundolf in der Reihe der Franzosen erwähnt, die von jener Kunst geträumt haben, in der George sie im Algabal so weit übertroffen habe. 38

Es ist möglich, aber nicht wahrscheinlich, daß George Huysmans persönlich nicht kennenlernte. Völlig ausgeschlossen aber ist es, daß er sich der Bekanntschaft mit Huysmans' Roman A Rebours und dessen Einfluß hat entziehen können. A Rebours erschien 1884 und erregte ungeheures Aufsehen. Von weitgehendster Bedeutung für die Programme der französischen Dichter und Literaten, die sich nun in Gruppen und Grüppchen zusammenschließen und Journale wie Le Décadent und Le Symboliste herausgeben – und über sie hinaus auf das Ausland 39 – wird der Roman das Brevier der Décadence und der Held Des Esseintes der Typus par excellence des Dekadenten.40

Des Esseintes (dem Huysmans Züge von Robert de Montesquiou und Ludwig II. geliehen haben soll) flüchtet sich nach einem ausschweifenden Leben, das ihn mit "erlesenen und verderbten" Genüssen übersättigt hat, voller Weltverachtung und ennui in ein künstliches Dasein. Ein Landhaus in der Nähe von Paris läßt er sich mit Farben, Wandbehängen und -täfelungen, Tigerfellen und Blaufuchspelzen usw. so herrichten, daß bei künstlichem Licht alles harmoniert, denn er wacht in der Nacht und schläft bei Tage. Sein Speisezimmer ist als Schiffskabine eingerichtet,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> "Mallarmé s'occupa des obsèques, avec l'auteur d' A Rebours. Ce fut simple et grand." – E. de Rougemont, a. a. O., S. 326.

<sup>37</sup> Wolters, S. 49.

<sup>38 &</sup>quot;Flaubert, Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Huysmans" - Gundolf, S. 85.

<sup>89</sup> Wilde, D'Annunzio usw.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>, ... l'inattendu A Rebours ... fut, non le point de départ, mais la consécration d'une littérature neuve. Il ne s'agissait plus tant de faire entrer dans l'Art, par la représentation, l'extériorité brute, que de tirer de cette extériorité même des motifs de rêve et de surévélation intérieure." – Remy de Gourmont, Le Livre des Masques, Mercure de France, Paris 1914, S. 196.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ce roman marque une date essentiellé non seulement dans la vie de Huysmans, mais encore dans l'histoire littéraire de ce temps. Le héros d' A Rebours est bien le type représentatif de ceux qui se nommèrent eux-mêmes les décadents. Il faut pour en saisir toute la valeur et toute la justesse, se reporter à tout ce qui préoccupait alors les esprits cultivés." — René Dumesnil, Le Réalisme, De Gigord, Paris 1936, S. 420.

vgl. auch Herbert Schöffler, Die Stellung Huysmans im französischen Roman, Leipzig 1911, S. 42-47.

in der er sich jederzeit den Genuß einer langen "Seereise" zu verschaffen weiß. Hinter einem Bullauge befindet sich ein Aquarium, in dem er nicht nur mit Essenzen die prächtigsten Farbenwirkungen hervorrufen, sondern auch mechanische Fische mittels eines Uhrwerks beliebig herumschwimmen und sich in künstlichen Wasserpflanzen verstricken lassen kann. Es wäre müßig, im einzelnen auf alle diese Tricks einzugehen (z. B. die Schildkröte, deren Rücken Des Esseintes mit Gold überziehen und dieses mit Edelsteinen besetzen läßt, um eine Harmonie mit einem Teppich herzustellen; die "Mundharmonika" der Liköre, auf der er sich Sinfonien zusammentrinkt; die Gedichte und Landschaften, die er aus Parfümen zu komponieren sucht; der Aufenthalt in dem englischen Gasthaus in Paris, dessen Atmosphäre ihm die geplante Reise nach London ersetzt usw.): sie alle sind Experimente, mit welchen Des Esseintes sich zu beweisen sucht, daß das Künstliche dem Natürlichen überlegen ist, daß das wahre Genie des Menschen darin besteht, es durch Künstlichkeit der Natur zuvorzutun:

"Le tout est de savoir s'y prendre, de savoir concentrer son esprit sur un seul point, de savoir s'abstraire suffisamment pour amener l'hallucination et pour pouvoir substituer le rêve de la réalité à la réalité même.

Au reste, l'artifice paraissait à des Esseintes la marque distinctive du génie de l'homme.

Comme il le disait, la nature a fait son temps; elle a définitivement lassé, par la dégoûtante uniformité de ses paysages et de ses ciels, l'attentive patience des raffinés. Au fond, quelle platitude de spécialiste confinée dans sa partie, quelle petitesse de boutiquière tenant tel article à l'exclusion de tout autre, quel monotone magasin de prairies et d'arbres, quelle banale agence de montagnes et de mers!

Il n'est, d'ailleurs, aucune de ses inventions réputée si subtile ou si grandiose que le génie humain ne puisse créer." <sup>41</sup> Jedenfalls hat Des Esseintes ebenso wie Algabal im *Unterreich* die

> "... schöpfung wo er nur geweckt und verwaltet Erhabene neuheit ihn manchmal erfreut Wo ausser dem seinen kein wille schaltet Und wo er dem licht und dem wetter gebeut." 42

Und ganz offenkundig ist die Verwandtschaft des künstlichen Gartens Algabals (von der "dunklen grossen schwarzen blume" soll weiter unten die Rede sein) und seiner "vögel leblose schwärme" mit dem Aquarium und den mechanischen Fischen des Des Esseintes:

"Mein garten bedarf nicht luft und nicht wärme Der garten den ich mir selber erbaut Und seiner vögel leblose schwärme Haben noch nie einen frühling geschaut.<sup>43</sup>

43 II, S. 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> J.-K. Huysmans, *A Rebours*, Bibliothèque-Charpentier, Paris o. J., S. 30 f. <sup>42</sup> Gesamtausgabe II, S. 91.

Die Behauptung Gundolfs, das Unterreich Algabals sei wesentlich anderen Charakters als die "Paradis artificiels der späten Kunstfranzosen" (an dieser Stelle meint er die gesamten künstlichen Schöpfungen aller französischen décadents) – eine Behauptung, die er, doch wohl als Warnung vor leichtfertigem Widerspruch, dadurch unterstreicht, daß das "nur erfahren, nicht begriffen" werden könne " – will nicht überzeugen. Liegen die Unterschiede – zunächst seien die rein äußerlichen betont – zwischen dem Algabal und A Rebours (die zwischen dem Unterreich und dem "Rêve Parisien" bzw. dem donjon des Duke of Portland sind noch unbeträchtlicher) nicht z. T. darin begründet, daß Algabal, als Kaiser auf der Höhe seiner Macht, über "gesamter städte, ganzer staaten beute" verfügt, sich also schon ein wenig mehr leisten kann als ein französischer Lebemann, der endlich mit seinen Mitteln haushalten muß?

## Gundolf erhebt die Frage:

"Was sagt nun die Wahl des Sinnbilds (mag sie auch mitbestimmt sein durch den Eindruck des Königs Ludwig von Baiern) über Georges damaligen Willen aus: der spätrömische Kultkaiser, der verrufenste Name der Geschichte, als Träger eines Traumes von Weihe, Höhe und Ferne?"

## Und beantwortet sie:

"Ideale werden nicht erfunden, sondern gefunden, und zu jeder Urform bietet die Geschichte Erscheinungen: es gilt nur wahlverwandt aus dem Vergängnis des Gewesenen das Wesen herauszusuchen, ohne romantische Gespensterbeschwörung und epigonische Mumienmaskerade." <sup>45</sup>

A Rebours verherrlicht nicht nur die Werke der décadents und symbolistes 46 und verhilft dadurch manchen von ihnen (besonders auch Villiers) überhaupt erst zu größerem Ruhm,47 der Roman verherrlicht vor allen Dingen auch die lateinische Dekadenzliteratur vom Anfang des zweiten bis zum Anfang des zehnten Jahrhunderts, deren Werke den Hauptbestand von Des Esseintes' Bibliothek darstellen.48 In diesem Zu-

<sup>47</sup> "Comme Verlaine et Rimbaud, Mallarmé fit d'abord partie de l'équipe parnassienne, et, dédaigné comme Verlaine, il lui fallut attendre longtemps, jusqu'en 1884, la publication d' A Rebours pour que l'on reconnût et sa valeur et son originalité." – Dumesnil, a. a. O., S. 386.

Daß die von George gefeierten Villiers, Verlaine, Mallarmé (vgl. Franken im Siebensten Ring) ihrerseits Huysmans verehrten (die Freundschaft Huysmans' mit Villiers und Mallarmé wurde bereits oben erwähnt) beweisen u. a. Verlaines Sonett J.-K. Huysmans in Dédicaces (1890), Oeuvres Complètes, III, S. 92 und Mallarmés Prose pour des Esseintes, vgl. Poésies, Nouvelle Revue Française, Paris 1921, S. 87 ff.

48 A Rebours, S. 36-54. — Das Interesse der damaligen "Kunstfranzosen" für die römische Dekadenz und die spätlateinische Literatur scheint überhaupt stark gewesen.

<sup>48</sup> A Rebours, S. 36-54. — Das Interesse der damaligen "Kunstfranzosen" für die römische Dekadenz und die spätlateinische Literatur scheint überhaupt stark gewesen zu sein: vgl. Baudelaires in spätlateinischer Sprache geschriebenes Gedicht Franciscae Meae Laudes (1857), Fleurs du Mal, LXII, dem der Dichter die Anmerkung vorauschickt: "Ne semble-t-il pas, au lecteur comme à moi, que la langue de la dernière décadence latine — suprême soupir d'une personne robuste déjà transformée et pré-

<sup>44</sup> Gundolf, S. 83.

<sup>45</sup> Gundolf, S. 8o.

<sup>48</sup> A Rebours, S. 185-216, 234-266.

sammenhang erinnert sich Des Esseintes auch des afrikanischen Bischofs Tertullianus und - des Heliogabalus:

"... plus que ses oeuvres, en réalité l'homme l'attirait.

Il avait, en effet, vécu dans des temps houleux, secoués par d'affreux troubles, sous Caracalla, sous Macrin, sous l'étonnant grand-prêtre d'Emèse, Elagabal, et il préparait tranquillement ses sermons, ses écrits dogmatiques, ses plaidoyers, ses homélies, pendant que l'Empire romain branlait sur ses bases, que les folies de l'Asie, que les ordures du paganisme coulaient à pleins bords; il recommandait, avec le plus beau sang-froid, l'abstinence charnelle, la frugalité des repas, la sobriété de la toilette, alors que, marchant dans de la poudre d'argent et du sable d'or, la tête ceinte d'une tiare, les vêtements brochés de pierreries, Elagabal travaillait, au milieu de ses eunuques, à des ouvrages de femmes, se faisait appeler Impératrice et changeait, toutes les nuits, d'Empereur, l'élisant de préférence parmi les barbiers, les gâte-sauce, et les cochers de cirque.

Cette antithèse le ravissait . . . " 49

Wenn Gundolf nun weiter ausführt: "Selbstverständlich hat George dies rundum gemäße Symbol sich nicht erblättert, sondern die symbolreife und formträchtige Seele schlug wünschelrutenhaft an, als es ihr begegnete," 50 so dürfte man dies wünschelrutenhafte Anschlagen doch wohl am ehesten im Zusammenhang mit Huysmans' Roman zu suchen haben.

Daß nun George einen Kaiser aus dem römischen Verfall als "den unwirklichen Gefährten, der nichts anders ist wie ein Teil der eignen, in einem bestimmten Entwicklungskreis verfangenen Seele" 51 und Huysmans einen abgewirtschafteten Lebemann aus dem fin de siècle als "unwirklichen Gefährten" wählt - der aber auch nur Symbol einer Durchgangsstufe ist, denn auch Huysmans ist nicht bei Des Esseintes stehen geblieben - liegt in der künstlerischen Eigenart der beiden Dichter begründet: George, und das ist ihm als solches durchaus hoch anzurechnen, liebt die heroische Gebärde und Geste; Huysmans die psychologischen Feinheiten und Nuancen. Beiden war die eigene Zeit mit ihren Werten im höchsten Grade widerlich, und beide waren aristokratische Naturen, voller Verachtung für die Menge. Wenn Gundolf sagt, George habe seinen Abscheu in krassester Form zu gestalten gesucht, er habe hinter dem überlieferten Bild des Heliogabalus "Urformen menschlicher Triebe und kosmischer Mächte jenseits der bürgerlichen Sittenbegriffe und der christlichen Werte" 52 geahnt, er gebe im Algabal "nicht widersittliches

parée pour la vie spirituelle, est singulièrement propre à exprimer la passion telle que l'a comprise et sentie le monde poétique moderne?"

Vgl. auch Verlaines Sonett Je suis l'Empire à la fin de la décadence aus Jadis et Naguère (1884), Oeuvres Complètes, I, S. 381.

<sup>49</sup> A Rebours, S. 44. 40 Gundolf, S. 81 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Morwitz, S. 35. <sup>52</sup> Gundolf, S. 80.

Bekenntnis eines Genießers, sondern außersittliches Bekenntnis eines Frommen",<sup>53</sup> so läßt sich – die nötigen Einschränkungen vorausgesetzt – dasselbe für Huysmans, für Des Esseintes und für *A Rebours* sagen. So heißt es z. B. in einem französischen Preis auf Huysmans:

"Il s'ensuit chez Huysmans une bizarre propension à préférer, dans l'ordre même des choses mondaines (je prie que ce terme s'entende au sens religieux), ce qui provient des artifices de l'homme à la simple production de la nature.

Ainsi par sa philosophie même, s'explique donc ce goût de l'artificiel dont on a fait des gorges chaudes, à propos d'A Rebours.. Ce n'était pas, on le voit, une simple profession de décadent que ce livre célèbre. A défaut de la sur-nature, créons et prônons l'anti-nature." 54

Den Wunsch Algabals, die "grosse dunkle schwarze blume" in seinem Heiligtum zu "zeugen", deutet Gundolf als Beweis des unbeirrten Wirklichkeitssinns Georges, als Anerkennung seitens Algabals der Grenzen, die seinem Traumreich gesetzt sind: an dem sich regenden Verlangen nach Leben zerbricht das künstliche und tote Gebilde seiner Magie. Er stellt die schwarze Blume in Gegensatz zu der blauen des Novalis: Novalis, der "Geistzauberer" verklärt die "unerreichbare Ferne, das gegenstandslose Sehnen, das süße Schweifen"; George der "Lebenzüchter" dagegen bejaht "eine noch unbeherrschte unbegriffene Kraft".55 In dieser Gegenüberstellung scheint es sich um das nochmalige Ausspielen des Gegensatzes zu handeln, den Gundolf als zwischen dem George des Algabal und den Franzosen und übrigen europäischen Ästheten bestehend erklärte: letztere seien Romantiker, suchten den "schönen Schein", "Vorstellung des Andern", "Vergeistigung" – wogegen George "antik" sei, "Darstellung des Gleichen" und "Verwirklichung" suche.56

Abweichend von Gundolf und spezifisch "dekadent" interpretiert Morwitz die "schwarze Blume":

"Nur leise pocht im Unterreich der Wunsch nach Verewigung und Nachkommenschaft. Der Kaiser will nicht zeugen, er wünscht zu gebären. Leibliche Geburt ist nicht möglich. Nur der Geist kann die Daseinsform umgekehrt gestalten. So sucht der Kaiser das Leben einer Frau zu führen, wie es die Geschichte von Heliogabal berichtet." <sup>57</sup>

Lachmann dagegen meint:

"Eine einzige Blume ersinnt sich der selbstvermessene Trotz als wollte er das Leben in Lebloses zwingen und zeugen wider den Fug der Natur." 58

Das sind alles sehr interessante und gefühlvoll vorgetragene Deutungen.

<sup>53</sup> Gundolf, S. 81.

<sup>54</sup> André Thérive, J.-K. Huysmans, Son Oeuvre, La Nouvelle Revue Critique, Paris 1924, S. 56.

<sup>55</sup> Gundolf, S. 85-86.

<sup>56</sup> Gundolf, S. 83.

Morwitz, S. 37.
 Eduard Lachmann, Die ersten Bücher Stefan Georges, G. Bondi, Berlin 1933.
 S. 45.

Wird man im Zusammenhang mit der "schwarzen Blume" aber nicht auch an das berühmte "Blumenkapitel" in A Rebours erinnert, wo Des Esseintes erst die künstlichen Blumen, die er den natürlichen bei weitem vorzieht, bewundert, dann nicht minder "herrisch" als Algabal von noch höheren Möglichkeiten träumt?

"... il rêvait maintenant à la combinaison d'une autre flore. Après les fleurs factices singeant les véritables fleurs, il voulait des fleurs naturelles imitant des fleurs fausses. Il dirigea ses pensées dans ce sens . . . "50

Er läßt sich aus Treibhäusern exotische Blumenungeheuer kommen – worunter sich auch "un Amorphophallus . . . aux longues tiges noires conturées de balafres" 60 befindet – und feiert den menschlichen Erfindungsgeist als der Natur weit überlegen:

"... décidément, par le temps qui court, les horticulteurs sont les seuls et les vrais artistes." 61

Bei allen Unterschieden, die zwischen den beiden Werken bestehen und die natürlich vorausgesetzt werden müssen - in der Psyche der beiden Dichter; in der Form der Werke; in der Ebene, auf der sich ihre "Sinnbilder" bewegen; in den "Sinnbildern" selbst - lassen sich doch die Übereinstimmungen anderseits nicht leugnen. So wie Des Esseintes sich in seinem künstlichen Dasein vor dem Leben verschließt, wehrt der Algabal des Unterreichs das Leben ab. Die Tage und Andenken des Algabal entsprechen in manchen Einzelheiten den Erlebnissen des Des Esseintes, die er rückschauend wieder aufleben läßt. Letztere aufzuzählen, wäre müßig: es sind nicht die Erlebnisse des Priesterkönigtums, aber sie umfassen, auf anderer Ebene, die Möglichkeiten des Erlebens, die dem Menschen gegeben sind, der sich in stolzem Selbstbewußtsein von der "Menge" scheidet und seine Vereinzelung in all ihren extremen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten, jenseits aller Ethik außer der eigenen Individualethik bejaht. Des Esseintes proklamiert zwar nicht, daß er "frei in den bedingten bahnen" wandeln müsse, aber er ist ebenso überzeugt von seinem Recht und seiner Pflicht, sein Leben nach seinen Grundsätzen zu führen wie Algabal auch:

"Mais ça ne me distrait pas, moi, les plaisirs des autres, s'écria des Esseintes indigné!" 62

5.

Damit wenden wir uns zurück zu der Behauptung Gundolfs, der Algabal sei "antik" im Gegensatz zu der "Romantik" der Werke der "Kunstfranzosen" und ihres ästhetischen Gefolges. Was bei George "antik" anmutet, ist die Form, d. h. das äußere Gewand: der römische Imperator, die steile, heroische Geste, die priesterliche Weihe, die geballte edle Sprache und das z. T. klassische Versmaß ("Ihr hallen prahlend in reichem gewande"; "Mein garten bedarf nicht luft und nicht wärme"). Daß diese Komponenten der Georgeschen Dichtung in seiner individuellen

62 A Rebours, S. 282.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> A Rebours, S. 118. <sup>60</sup> A Rebours, S. 121. <sup>61</sup> A Rebours, S. 126.

Eigenart als Künstler tief verwurzelt sind und überhaupt mit zum Wertvollsten gehören, was George uns zu geben hat - und daß er diese Dinge nicht erst den Franzosen verdankt - sei gerne zugegeben. George verfällt nicht in den bei den Franzosen so oft anzutreffenden weichlichen und allerdings "romantischen" Klageton des emui und der langueur, wie bei Verlaine:

"Ah! tout est bu, tout est mangé! plus rien à dire!"63 oder bei Mallarmé:

> "La chair est triste, hélas! et j'ai lu tous les livres. Fuir! là-bas fuir! . . . "64

Anderseits aber und was den Algabal angeht, ist das hier zum Ausdruck kommende Lebensgefühl des damals vierundzwanzigjährigen George, die "innere Form" der Dichtung, ebenso "dekadent" wie bei allen übrigen "Dekadenten" - als primäres Element der "Dekadenz" verstanden: die künstlerische Gestaltung des individualistisch-verfeinerten modernen Lebensgefühls durch den verblüffenden Kontrast; oder anders ausgedrückt: die symbolhafte Ersetzung der technischen, industriellen und demokratischen Zivilisation durch eine mythologiehungrige aristokratisierende Überkultur, die auch vor dem Künstlichen, Krankhaften und Perversen nicht halt macht, ja es sogar in gesuchten Bildern betont, um damit sich selbst einerseits vom herrschenden "Zeitgeist" zu distanzieren und ihn anderseits auf das schroffste herauszufordern (épater le bourgeois).65

Die schon mehrfach betonte, vor allem in der heroischen Geste sich ausdrückende künstlerische Eigenart Georges:

> "Es ziemt nicht in irdischer klage zu wanken Uns die das los für den purpur gebar." 66

kann über den im übrigen "dekadenten" Gehalt der Algabal-Dichtung nicht hinwegtäuschen: das aus dem römischen Verfall gewählte "Sinnbild"; die künstliche, üppige und farbenprächtige Welt mit ihren vielen (äußerlich klassisch anmutenden), in Wirklichkeit erlesen-exotischen

<sup>63</sup> Oeuvres Complètes, I, S. 381.

Stephane Mallarmé, Poésies, Paris 1921, S. 43.
 Vgl. Théophile Gautiers Erörterung des Begriffs "décadence" in seinem Essay über Baudelaire (1868):

<sup>&</sup>quot;Le poète des Fleurs du mal aimait ce qu'on appelle improprement le style de décadence, et qui n'est autre chose que l'art arrivé à ce point de maturité extrême que déterminent à leurs soleils obliques les civilisations qui vieillissent: style ingénieux, compliqué, savant, plein de nuances et de recherches, reculant toujours les bornes de la langue . . . Ce style de décadence est le dernier mot du Verbe sommé de tout exprimer et poussé à l'extrême outrance. On peut rappeler, à propos de lui, la langue marbrée déjà des verdeurs de la décomposition et comme faisandée du bas-empire romain et les raffinements compliqués de l'école byzantine, dernière forme de l'art grec déjà tombé en déliquescence; mais tel est bien l'idiome nécessaire et fatal des peuples et des civilisations où la vie factice a remplacé la vie naturelle et développé chez l'homme des besoins inconnus. Ce n'est pas chose aisée d'ailleurs, que ce style méprisé des pédants, car il exprime des idées neuves avec des formes nouvelles et des mots qu'on n'a pas entendus encore." — Gautiers Essay ist abgedruckt als Einleitung zu den Fleurs du Mal. Vgl. diese, a. a. O., S. XVI f.

<sup>66</sup> II, S. 109 (Einfache Zahlen verweisen von hier ab auf den II. Band der Gesamtausgabe.)

Requisiten; das Gebaren und Gehaben des "Sinnbilds" selbst nicht nur im Unterreich, sondern auch in den Tagen und in den Andenken.

Auf den Symbolwert des künstlichen Unterreichs für die aristokratische Vereinzelung wurde bereits eingegangen. Die Berechtigung zu Härte und Grausamkeit den Vielzuvielen gegenüber leitet der Algabal der Tage aus der Vorstellung ab:

"ICH bin als einer so wie sie als viele Ich tue was das leben mit mir tut Und träf ich sie mit ruten bis aufs blut Sie haben korn und haben fechterspiele." 67

Am Schluß der Andenken erklingt die Klage der persönlichen Isolierung und des im Anbeten der künstlichen Schönheit unfruchtbaren Daseins: "flehend... vor einer säule sprödem marmorleibe." 68

Als Symbol der Verachtung für die "Menge" dient auch der Traum der Weihe und der gottgleichen Entrücktheit. In den Tagen hält der Priesterkaiser einsames Zwiegespräch mit der Gottheit ("Auch kein bruder sei zugegen"). Das festordnender Gott steht Algabal über dem "Rosenfest", das er zur eigenen göttlichen Erbauung in dionysischen Rausch und Tod (Rosenregen) übersteigert. Die eigene Überhöhung zur Gottheit endlich verkündet das Gedicht: "Jahre und vermeinte schulden" der Andenken.

"Dekadent" ist auch die sich durch das ganze Werk hinziehende Zwiespältigkeit des "Sinnbilds": das Schwanken Algabals zwischen den Extremen.<sup>72</sup> Bald überläßt er sich dem üppigen Sinnenrausch (Rosenfest, Flötenspieler vom Nil,<sup>73</sup> Sänge der Syrer <sup>74</sup>), bald versteigt er sich zum selbst das Lachen grausam verfolgenden Sadismus:

"So sprach ich nur in meinen schwersten tagen: Ich will, daß man im volke stirbt und stöhnt Und jeder lacher sei ans kreuz geschlagen. Es ist ein groll der für mich selber dröhnt." <sup>75</sup>

Jäh und unvermittelt ist oft der Wechsel zwischen Haß-Grausamkeit-Härte und weichlich-weibisch-zartem Fühlen. So im eben zitierten Gedicht, dessen Schlußstrophe lautet:

> "Dann schloß ich hinter aller schar die riegel Ich ruhte ohne wunsch und mild und licht Und beinah einer schwester angesicht Erwiderte dem schauenden ein spiegel."

Ähnlich kontrastiert die Erdolchung des Lyders samt "höhnender Gebärde" mit dem Eingraben des Namens in "den abendlichen Weinpokal",76

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> 107. <sup>68</sup> 121. <sup>69</sup> 101. <sup>70</sup> 104 f. <sup>71</sup> 116 f. <sup>72</sup> "Das Verhalten der Dekadenten, die bedeutende Menschen sind, ist eben widerspruchsvoll in sich: voll Schwermut, durch die hindurch ein Doppelstrahl hoher Lebenslust zuckt. Ihr paradoxes Dasein ist also nicht eine einheitliche, klare Existenzform. Sondern sie vereinigt negative mit andersartigen Elementen, die man als absolute oder mystische, und mit anderen, die man als heroische bezeichnen muß. Diese dreifache Vielfältigkeit ihrer Tendenzen ist der eigentümliche Reiz . . . "Eckart v. Sydow, Die Kultur der Dekadenz, Dresden, 1922, S. 20.

<sup>78</sup> 106. <sup>74</sup> 111. <sup>76</sup> 107. <sup>76</sup> 99.

sowie auch die Ermordung des "teuren Bruders" mit dem spielerischweibischen Raffen der Purpurschleppe nach eben erfolgter Beteuerung:

"Sieh ich bin zart wie eine apfelblüte Und friedenfroher denn ein neues lamm, Doch liegen eisen stein und feuerschwamm Gefährlich im erschütterten gemüte." <sup>77</sup>

wobei in den beiden letzten Zeilen zugleich die ganze nervöse Über-

reiztheit des "dekadenten" Menschen anklingt.

Ausgesprochen "dekadent" ist das an den historischen Heliogabalus erinnernde Spielen mit der Idee der eigenen Doppelgeschlechtlichkeit, wie in des "Gottes Zwiegestalt" im Heiligtum,<sup>78</sup> in der Algabal "sein höheres oder tieferes Ebenbild" grüßt.<sup>79</sup> Wenn Lachmann in dem leisen Raffen der Purpurschleppe an der Leiche des Bruders "etwas von einer Weibsphinx" erblickt und verzückt hinzufügt:

"Es ist ein Zug, ein Griff aus anderer Welt als unserer, halb göttlich und kaum menschlich." 80

so kann man die "Weibsphinx" schon gelten lassen, der Rest ist "dekadente" Geste. Die Idee der Doppelgeschlechtlichkeit klingt nochmals an in dem Bild vom Angesicht der Schwester, das der Spiegel dem Schauenden erwidert.<sup>81</sup>

Bezeichnend ist überdies die Abneigung gegen die zweigeschlechtliche "normale" Liebe, die in den Andenken Ausdruck findet in dem Gedicht von der Priesterin, "die wie die anderen [!] ein Mal" hat.<sup>82</sup> Der einzige Mensch, der Algabal nahesteht, ist Agathon der Jüngling.<sup>83</sup>

Nicht minder "dekadent" ist die das Leben, so wie es einmal ist, verneinende zwiespältige Sehnsucht Algabals: einerseits nach der Unschuld und dem "Blumenalter" der Kindheit (im Zusammenhang mit der Kugel von Murra-Stein <sup>84</sup> im *Unterreich* und in den beiden ersten Gedichten der *Andenken*), <sup>85</sup> anderseits nach dem Tode. Letztere äußert sich als romantisch-jugendliches Todessehnen ("Fühl ich noch dies erste ungemach"), <sup>86</sup> in dem Spielen mit Selbstmordgedanken (in den beiden letzten Gedichten der *Tage*), <sup>87</sup> sowie in dem Verlangen nach barbarischem Blut- und Selbstzerstörungsrausch ("Graue rosse muß ich schirren"), <sup>88</sup>

Die eigentümliche von Extrem zu Extrem rasch den Übergang findende Zwiespältigkeit ist einer der Hauptzüge des Des Esseintes, dieses anerkannten Dekadenten. Da er sich von einer Krankheit erholt, liest er die keuschen Romane von Charles Dickens, die ihm zwangsläufig das Gegenbild eigener früherer Ausschweifungen vorzaubern. Es ist nur ein Schritt für ihn vom Katholizismus zum Satanismus, von der Mystik zum Sadismus.

komplementären Gegensatz herbeizuzwingen. Tertullian und Heliogabalus, der strenge Kirchenvater und der ausschweifende Sonnenpriester, der eine suggeriert den andern, und was ihn am meisten reizt, ist ihr historisches Neben- und Gegeneinander: "cette antithèse le ravissait." 92

Auch das Endergebnis ist für Huysmans' A Rebours wie für Georges Algabal insofern das gleiche, als die Helden beider Werke sich ernüchtert in das Zerbrechen ihrer künstlichen Welten ergeben - wenn auch, wie immer, auf verschiedenen Ebenen.

Die konsequente Ableugnung jeglichen Dekadenzgehaltes der Algabal-Dichtung durch den "Kreis", die Darstellung ihrer Entstehung als einer durchaus eigengesetzlichen und dem französischen Geist unverpflichteten scheint jedenfalls auf die deutsche George- bzw. Dekadenzforschung ihre Wirkung nicht verfehlt zu haben.93 Nach Richard M. Meyer wird im Zusammenhang mit dem Algabal nur noch auf das Baudelairesche Gedicht ("Rêve Parisien") verwiesen. Alle anderen Beziehungen, die Meyer angedeutet hatte, scheinen vergessen. Sowie die Rede vom Algabal ist, folgen alle den von Gundolf vorgezeichneten Linien wie seinem Wortlaut. So z. B. M. Z. v. Zabeltitz 94 und K. J. Obenauer. 95 Geradezu befremdend aber ist der Umstand, daß repräsentative wissenschaftliche Darstellungen der Décadence weder den Algabal noch seinen Dichter in den Kreis der "dekadenten" Kunst einbeziehen. So erwähnt Eckart v. Sydows Kultur der Dekadenz George nur als Übersetzer der Fleurs du Mal. 96 Und Hugo Biebers Dekadenzartikel 97 erwähnt zwar eine ganze Reihe von deutschen Namen, Stefan George aber überhaupt nicht.

Trotz allem, was George der französischen Décadence schulden mag, ist die Algabal-Dichtung doch so eigenwüchsig und als Kunstgebilde bedeutend, daß der "Kreis" weder so hymnisch noch so hartnäckig sich hätte gegen jede Andeutung französischen Einflusses zu verwahren brauchen.

## RETURNENT FRANC EN FRANCE DULCE TERRE.

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<sup>92</sup> Ebenda, S. 44.
98 Bevor die offizielle Exegese des "Kreises" ihre Diktatur auszuüben begann, hat, neben R. M. Meyer, Hermann Bahr die Zusammenhänge z. T. gesehen. In einem Décadence" bespricht et A Rebours und das "deka-1897 erschienenen Aufsatz über "Décadence" bespricht er A Rebours und das "dekadente" Programm Oskar Wildes, und fügt hinzu: "Der Graf Montesquiou" (das Vorbild für Des Esseintes) "und der Deutsche Stefan George würden nicht zögern,

es zu zeichnen." – Renaissance, S. Fischer, Berlin, 1897, S. 9.

94 M. Z. v. Zabeltitz, Die Natur bei Stefan George, Festschrift für B. Litzmann,

Berlin 1921, S. 474 f.

98 K. J. Obenauer, Die Problematik . . . , S. 397 f.

<sup>96</sup> E. v. Sydow, a. a. O. S. 299,

<sup>97</sup> Merker-Stammler, Reallexikon, I, 181.

# KANT'S THEORY OF FREEDOM AS AN ETHICAL POSTULATE

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Idealism, although as old as Plato, and made prominent in modern thought by Bishop Berkeley,1 obtained its position of importance by the great Kant, the foremost expositor and classic figure of what is known today as the idealistic point of view in philosophy. From his system the diverging systems of Fichte and his Absolutist successors on the one hand, the Individualism of Herbart and the Pantheism of Schopenhauer on the other took their rise. "An astonishing diversity of standpoints claim descent from Kant. The chief of these are: Objective Idealism with its variants by Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and the later English and Italian versions; various neo-Kantianisms and neo-Criticisms; the voluntaristic metaphysics of Schopenhauer; the voluntaristic and instrumentalist strains in pragmatism and its European kin; the more or less positivistic subjectivism or "idealism" of Mach and his kin; the positivistic idealism of the "As If" philosophy of Vaihinger, etc. Kant has been, without doubt, the most seminal influence in modern philosophy."2

True, the different systems of Kant's successors occupied in the first half of the nineteeth century the center of philosophic interest and their great master Immanuel Kant of Königsberg, remained in the background, but these aberrant systems did not flourish for long; some fifty years after Kant's death the cry went forth: "Back to Kant." 3 The so-called Neo-Kantian movement which then began has increased steadily and continuously ever since. "The return to Kant meant a return not to the security and authority of a dogmatic system nor to the benumbing atmosphere of scepticism; it was a return not to a place of rest but to a point of fresh departure, affording promising suggestions and stimuli for renewed philosophic exploration . . . What more convincing proof can be offered of the supreme importance of the Kantian philosophy than the fact that a return to it thus led to fresh advances from and

beyond it?" 4 In this sense Eucken and his followers drew heavily upon Kant, as did even more directly Cohen, Natorp, Cassirer, Gorland, and the entire Marburg-school. The efforts of Dilthey and, more recently, of

Berkeley, Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge and Three Diologues Between Hylas and Philonous.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Leighton, Immanuel Kant. Papers Read at Northwestern University on the Bi-

centenary of Kant's Birth, 1925, p. 78.

3 Liebmann in his Kant und die Epigonen, 1865, led the "Return to Kant" movement, also Erdmann in his Die Entwicklung der deutschen Spekulation seit Kant.

E. L. Schaub, Immanuel Kant, Papers Read at Northwestern University on the Bicentenary of Kant's Birth, 1925, p. 11.

Spranger, to establish the number and the nature of the fundamental types of philosophy grounded in the nature of man simply continued the work of Kant. Troeltsch's metaphysics of religion and history, Stern's personalistic philosophy, Driesch's neo-vitalism, Husserl's and Scheler's phenomenalism, every one took more or less his point of departure from Kant's philosophy. Paulsen wrote in 1898: "Kant occupies at present a special place in our philosophical literature: he forms the centre of the academic study of philosophy, and is the object of a kind of philosophical activity, as Aristotle was some decades ago." <sup>5</sup>

Thus, Kant's system of thought has been discipline and inspiration to the minds of the last hundred years, "the seeds sown by Kant are still bearing fruits, good, bad, and indifferent. Nearly every seriously systematic thinker finds his pet views adumbrated in Kant." It is the purpose of this study to consider Kant's idealistic moral philosophy with particular reference to his conception of freedom as an ethical postulate.

In the Critique of Pure Reason Kant undertook to explain and to establish epistemologically the universal validity of scientific laws. He had proved, as he thought, that the possibility of human experience rests on the presence within it of the organizing force of various thought categories or relationships, among which causality stands more or less pre-eminent.7 The categories of understanding condition the possibility of experience; the world of possible experience is a world necessarily connected in space and time. Nothing can become a part of experience except as it is bound by ties of necessary causal connections with the rest of the world of phenomena.8 In the universe of phenomena which science represents, freedom is thus totally excluded. Secondly, Kant had shown that this universal validity of the causal principle, as schematised in time among phenomena, was not applicable to the non-phenomenal, and so not inconsistent with phenomena being determined by a supratemporal, and itself uncaused ground.9 These two principles constitute the structure on which Kant's solution of the problem is wholly based. On the one hand he insists that freedom must on no account break the claim of causality, or even of 'mechanical' causality, connecting all phenomena, and on the other hand he declares that freedom is not inconsistent with causality, because the same being may be at once free, as a noumenon, and necessarily determined by natural causation in all his acts, as a phenomenon. The Critique of Pure Reason thus claims to leave a way open for the acceptance of freedom, if required on ethical grounds, and bases this claim on the fact that the prima facie contradiction between freedom and causality is thereby removed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Preface to the First Edition of *Immanuel Kant*, translated by Creighton and Lefevre, 1902.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Leighton in *Immanuel Kant*, p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> Kant, Kritik der reinen Vermunft, Vol. 4, p. 63-65 (Kants gesammelte Schriften, published by the "Königlich Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften").

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 128-141. 9 Ibid., p. 166-168.

It is with such an epistemological background that Kant approaches the problem of freedom in the third antimony of the Transcendental Dialectic.10 We have freedom as causation by reason on the one side. and causation by desire on the other. Kant treated desire as being wholly the result of external causes operating mechanically.11 Now natural necessity (Naturnotwendigkeit) is defined in the Foundation of the Metaphysic of Morals as "the property of causality in all beings without reason, to be determined to activity through the influence of external causes." 12 Since moral action involves a certain independence of external causes, we must obviously not be entirely under the sway of circumstances in order to act as moral beings. This does not mean merely that we must not be absolutely dependent on purely physical causation, but also that we must not be dominated by sense and desire as determined by external objects - desire being taken by Kant as merely a mechanical reaction to a stimulus from without. Whereas Kant defines 'will' as "a mode of causality of living beings, in so far as they are rational," he calls 'freedom' that "property of this causality by which it can work effects independently of foreign causes determining it." 13 Freedom, in the positive sense, and autonomy (as opposed to heteronomy) are regarded as equivalent terms. For example, in the Foundation to the Metaphysic of Morals he says: "Natural necessity was a Heteronomy of efficient causes; for every effect was only possible according to the law that something else determined the efficient cause to exercise its causality; so what else can the freedom of the will be but autonomy, i.e., the property of the will by which it is a law to itself?" 14 A little later in the same work, Kant gives as the basis for his conception of freedom, that, if there is no freedom, reason is not practical, i.e., does not control phenomena, but is controlled by something else external to it.15 In still another place in the same work he says that even the claim which common sense has to freedom is based on a consciousness that reason is independent of feeling and sensibility in determining action, and this power of determination by means of reason is contrasted immediately afterwards with the subjection of men's causality to "external determination according to laws of nature." 16 Autonomy means that the self as free is directed by a law determined by reason, as the essential part of the self, and not by desire of particular objects. We may trace in Kant's insistence on the autonomy of the self the double conviction that moral action cannot be determined merely by desire of sensible objects and that the basis of moral action cannot

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 446.

<sup>11</sup> Kant, Kritik der praktischen Vernunft, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> Kant, Kritik der reinen Vermunft, p. 446.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 446.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 446-447.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 448. <sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 457.

be empirical, but only a priori, and hence must lie not in sensible objects, but in the self as reason.

Kant insists, secondly, that responsibility is incompatible with absolute causal determination of the present by the past. Replying to those who try to give a 'psychological' explanation of freedom, Kant declares natural necessity to be absolutely irreconcilable with freedom because "it follows from the former that every event, and so also every action which occurs at a point of time is necessary under the condition of what existed in the preceding time. But as the past time is no longer in my power, every action which I perform must be necessary through determining grounds, which are not in my power, i. e., I am, at the moment of time at which I act, never free. Yes, even if I take my whole being to be independent of any and every external cause, (as God, for example), so that the determining grounds of my causality, and even of my whole existence, would not be outside me at all, yet this fact would not do anything at all to change that natural necessity into freedom. For, at every point of time I still stand under the necessity of being determined to action by what is not in my power, and the a parte priori infinite series of events, which I should then always only continue according to an already predetermined order but never begin of my own accord, would be an unbroken chain of natural causes (eine stetige Naturkette), and my causality therefore would never be freedom." 17 A little later Kant declares that it does not matter whether an act is determined by internal or by external, by instinctive or by reasoned grounds, but in no case can there be a thought of freedom if the motives for the act are to be discovered only in a temporally prior state, hence in a state which is no longer in our power to determine. So, he says, we may call all such natural causality "mechanism". 18 In the Critique of Pure Reason and the Foundation to the Metaphysic of Morals he argues that morality implies that, although something did not happen, it ought to have happened (and therefore could have happened).19 But in the attempt at solution the emphasis is laid on the fact that, if there be anything such as a noumenal act at all, it cannot be determined by a precedent state in time, because, as noumenal, it is ex hypothesi not in time.

It would be possible to interpret Kant's language occasionally as implying the belief in 'psychological' freedom or in self-determination; but that freedom, identical with causation by psychological or internal, as opposed to external, causes, is out of harmony with the fundamental tenor of Kant's ethical system;20 for the individual's motives are themselves involved in the intricate nexus of conditioned events in experience and cannot provide the bases for an ethical doctrine of freedom in a

<sup>17</sup> Kritik der praktischen Vernunft, p. 94.

 <sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 96.
 19 Grundlegung zur Metaph. der Sitten, p. 424.
 20 Kant distinctly repudiates it in his second Critique, Book I, Chap. 3, p. 93.

Kantian sense. Such 'psychological' freedom, he declares, "would be, at bottom, no better than the freedom of a turnspit; that, too, if once wound up, performs its movements of its own accord." 21 Again, he defines freedom as "the faculty of a cause to determine itself to action untrammeled by sense conditions," and as "the independence of causality from the condition of space and time."

Thus, the conception of freedom, as we have pointed out, stood for Kant in absolute opposition both to causality by desire, which he regarded as a merely mechanical reaction to external sensible causes and also to the one-sided determination of the present by the past. But a way of escape seems to be provided by the possibility that one and the same being may from different aspects be considered as at once necessarily determined and free. This way is secured by the distinction between phenomena and the things-in-themselves.22

"The natural necessity which is incompatible with the freedom of the subject only belongs to the determinations of what stands under temporal conditions, and so only to the determinations of the acting subject as phenomenon. Therefore so far the determining grounds of every action lie in what belongs to the past time and is no longer in the agent's power (in this class must also be placed the acts he has already performed and the character thereby determinable in his own eyes as phenomenon). But the very same subject, who is from another point of view conscious of himself as thing-in-itself, also considers his existence, in so far as he does not stand under conditions of time and regard himself as determinable only by laws he himself prescribes for himself through reason, and in this mode of his existence there is nothing to precede the determination of his will, but every act and, more generally, every determination of his being which changes according to inner sense, and even the whole succession (Reihenfolge) of his existence as sensible being (Sinneswesen) is in the consciousness of his intelligible existence to be regarded as nothing but a consequence; never as determining basis of his causality as Noumenon. Now from this point of view the rational being is justified in saying of every act which he performs contrary to the law, (although it is sufficiently determined in the past as phenomenon and in so far is inevitably necessary), that he could have abstained from doing it." 23

It therefore follows, then, that the self as thing-in-itself or noumenon is free, and as phenomenon is determined by natural causality in all its actions. In any case, the solution of the problem of freedom by an appeal to the distinction between the phenomenal and the noumenal self strikes one prima facie as a cumbersome, almost puerile attempt to pretend that the problem is answered when it has merely been shelved. "Kant calls our attention to a Januslike personality, one face turned

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Kritik der praktischen Vermunft, p. 97. <sup>22</sup> Kritik der reinen Vernunft, "Phenomena und Noumena", p. 155.

<sup>23</sup> Kritik der prakt. Vernunft, p. 45.

toward the phenomenal world of necessary connection, the other freely directing its gaze toward the eternal course of reason. Man's empirical character is thoroughly involved in the causal order, as truly subject to scientific calculations as are the orbits of the celestial bodies, while his intelligible character is purely rational, spontaneously active in the noumenal realm of ideas, sublimely independent of the causal system." 24 This solution of the problem, by distinguishing between the empirical character of man, which is just the system of laws connecting events in the empirical self as phenomena, and the intelligible character of man, which is the basis in the noumenal self of that empirical self we know, 25 seems to come perilously near to being what Sidgwick described the solution of the third antimony as tending to become, that is, an explanation that "we may also suppose an unknown relation to an unknown entity, which is not a phenomenon, which might afford the required explanation if we only knew it." 26 This, as Sidgwick says, is what the solution comes to if Kant persistently holds to the distinction of phenomena and things-in-themselves and to the unknowableness of the latter and so denies the possibility of applying the category of causality with any real significance to the thing-in-itself.

One thing, however, seems clear that the freedom posited by Kant is not regarded by him as mere indeterminism. "In that the concept of a causality carries with it the concept of laws, according to which an account of something, which we call cause, something else, namely the consequence, must be posited, freedom, although not a property of the will according to natural laws, is not on that account lawless, but must on the contrary be one of a peculiar kind; for otherwise a free will would be an absurdity." 27 The difference between natural necessity and the necessity of freedom, as given here, is that, while natural necessity is a heteronomy of efficient causes, freedom is an autonomy, which means that the free will is "a law to itself." 28 The term 'necessity' or 'law' always occurs whenever Kant attempts to give a clearer description of the nature of noumenal freedom.29 He admits that free will must have a determining ground (Bestimmungsgrund); he connects freedom closely with the idea of a "supersensible nature" and declares that by "nature" is meant "the existence of things under laws",30 and that the difference between a sensible and a supersensible order of nature is that in the former things exist under empirically conditioned laws, in the latter under laws independent of all empirical determination.<sup>81</sup> It is in this independence of empirical laws and in being a law unto itself

<sup>24</sup> Tsanoff, in Philosophical Essays in Honor of J. E. Creighton, p. 66.

<sup>25</sup> Kritik der reinen Vernunft, p. 155.

Sidgwick Lectures on Kant, p. 177 f.
 Grundl. zur Metaph. der Sitten, p. 446.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 446-7.

<sup>29</sup> Kritik der prakt. Vernunft, p. 29 f.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

by reason, that autonomy, as opposed to heteronomy, is said to consist. He expressly repudiates the view that freedom consists in the power of choosing to act for or against the law (libertas indifferentiae), though admitting that a certain freedom qua defective may be empirically manifested in that way. The mere fact that Kant repeatedly and explicitly identifies freedom with determination by the moral law is sufficient to show his opposition to the interpretation of freedom as indeterminism or motiveless action. Such indeterminism Kant will not admit either in

noumenal freedom or in the world of phenomena.

Closely connected with the idea, that freedom is not to be regarded as indeterminism, is Kant's conception of responsibility. Responsibility, Kant insists, is not avoided by ascribing an act to empirical characteristics like innate badness as its natural cause, for these are the result and not the cause of the bad will. Common sense holds a man to be responsible and punishable for his bad deeds even though they may be accounted for causally as due to his empirical, natural disposition. But "this could not take place if we did not presuppose that everything which issues from his will (and certainly every deed done intentionally) has as its basis a free causality, which from early youth onwards has expressed its character in its appearance (the actions of the man). These appearances on account of the uniformity of conduct enable us to recognize a natural connection (Natur-zusammenhang), which does not, however, make the evil quality of the will necessary, but is rather the consequence of the voluntary adoption of bad, enduring principles, which only make it all the more culpable and deserving of punishment." 32 Kant even carries out his views of responsibility with such extreme rigor that he declares that in condemning an action we may set aside altogether all natural psychological influences and previous actions, and "treat the past series of conditions as never having occurred (als ungeschehen), and this deed as quite unconditioned with regard to the precedent state, as though the agent thereby began a series of consequences quite independently (ganz von selbst) . . . And, indeed, one regards the causality of reason as being not merely a competing, partial cause (Concurrenz), but as being in itself complete, even if the sensible motives are not at all in favour and even actually against it. The action is ascribed to the intelligible character of the agent; he has now, at the moment in which he tells the lie, complete responsibility." 33 The point on which the solution depends is that, if freedom is ascribed not to particular, empirical acts of will, but to a nontemporal principle, the antimony is avoided, because as nontemporal it cannot be determined by antecedent events in time.

It is clear, once granted a thing-in-itself, that there is no difficulty in supposing it to be free from every kind of causation. To suggest that the acts of the self as noumenal, a timeless self, can be determined by sensible objects as causes is absurd, because "the noumenal self is the

33 Ibid., p. 95-96.

<sup>32</sup> Kritik der prakt. Vernunft, p. 100.

basis of the existence of these very objects, qua sensible".84 It is equally absurd to suggest that the self as noumenal can in its present acts be causally determined by its past acts, it would mean to put in time what is ex hypothesi timeless. But, if my present acts as noumenal are not determined by my past acts, then the main difficulty vanishes; for the inconsistency of universal natural causation with responsibility must be due to the apparent determination of the present by the past in such a way that my present acts, because determined by the irrevocable past, are not in my power to do or not do at the moment of action. "That free acts are not undetermined makes no difference provided they are not determined either by external or by temporally prior causes." 35 The conditions which determine them cannot be temporally prior. The noumenal acts cannot be causally determined by phenomenal conditions any more than a consequence can be its own cause - for the noumenal is the basis of the phenomenal - and of noumenal conditions none can be prior in time to any other.

To pass to another aspect of Kant's treatment of freedom, it is a striking fact that he always identifies free action with action according to moral law. For free action consists in action by the noumenal self according to its own law, i. e., the law of reason, and Kant held that the only law of action which could be regarded as really universal and so capable of directing reason must be the moral law.36 He declares that the two concepts, freedom and morality, are so closely connected that one can deduce either from the other, that they are in fact "Wechselbegriffe". It is only by regarding it as determined by the moral law that we find any positive content in the idea of freedom as conceived by Kant. "A free will and a will under laws are identical (einerlei). If then the freedom of the will is presupposed, morality with its own principle follows from freedom by the mere analysis of its concept.37 "The two concepts are so inseparably united (unzertrennlich verbunden), that practical freedom could also be defined as independence of the will of anything other than the moral law alone." 38

This identification of free action and action according to moral law leads to serious difficulties. One may object that, if free action and action according to the moral law are identical, then acts cannot be free, and so how can we be responsible for them Yet the contention that, if all acts are exclusively determined by natural causality, we cannot be held responsible for wrongdoing, was the argument for freedom on which Kant chiefly insists. If it be said that in wrong acts the fault lies not in the positive commission of the act through freedom, then freedom is not equivalent to morality, but may actually involve immorality. Kant

<sup>34</sup> Kritik der reinen Vernunft p. 158.

<sup>35</sup> Kant, Religion within the Bounds of Mere Reason, Hartenstein, Vol. 6, p. 144. <sup>36</sup> Reicke: Lose Blätter, Vol. I (1898), p. 224. Cf. the concluding paragraph of the Dream of a Ghost-seer, Werke 2, pp. 380. Also Letters to Marcus Herz (1773).

<sup>37</sup> Grundlegung zur Metaph. der Sitten, p. 447.

<sup>38</sup> Kritik der prakt. Vernunft, p. 93.

says that we are responsible, not for sensible inclinations as such, but only if we allow them to affect our "maxims" of conduct, 30 but to admit such a possibility at all really implies a breach with the view so insisted upon elsewhere in the ethical works that free action and moral action are identical.

Nor is it easy to see how a pure and absolute timeless reason, devoid of all desire, could be other than perfectly moral, if indeed morality has any meaning when applied to such a being; nor how reason can subsume and take up into itself as a motive something so heterogeneous as a sensible desire, if reason is conceived as pure form without content and desires as merely mechanical reactions to wholly external stimuli. Surely, the noumenal self must be conceived as the basis of our whole empirical character as its appearance, not only some of its acts, otherwise my noumenal self is not in any real sense myself. But, if the noumenal self is the basis of the whole empirical self as its appearance, all action by internal causation (i. e., actions which as phenomenal belong to the chain of appearance of the noumenal self of the agent) becomes in the last resort equally the work of the noumenal self. We might indeed still distinguish moral acts from other acts by saying that all other action as determined by externally caused desires had its real grounds not in the noumenal self of the agent, but in other things-in-themselves, and so, that moral action alone was action according to internal causation: but Kant has debarred himself from this resource by his doctrine that all action, whether moral or not, can be adequately accounted for causally (phenomenally) by desires of external objects, i. e., externally caused reactions of a mechanical order. This doctrine would involve the conclusion that we have no more right to call any action internally or externally caused than any other. The whole character of the empirical self cannot in any case be regarded as (phenomenally) moral; yet, if the noumenal and empirical self are, as Kant holds, the same person regarded from different standpoints, what we call the immoral as well as the moral elements in the empirical self belong to the 'appearance' of the noumenal self.

The question as to the possibility of giving a proof of morality independently of freedom and of freedom independently of morality is discussed in several passages. In the Critique of Practical Reason Kant seems at first to take the attitude that the validity of the moral law cannot be proved either a priori or a posteriori, because it is non-empirical and yet cannot, like the categories, be shown to be a condition of the possibility of experience,<sup>40</sup> but for all that, it is declared to be given as a factum of pure reason and to be apodeictically certain,<sup>41</sup> whether it be ever realized in any empirical action or not. Further, though in-

<sup>39</sup> Grundl. zur Metaph. der Sitten, p. 458.

<sup>40</sup> Kritik der prakt. Vermunft, p. 46-47.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 47-48.

demonstrable itself, it serves as the only possible basis for the deduction of freedom.

Kant would have been on safer grounds if he had stopped here, but he attempts to turn this relation to freedom into a kind of proof of the moral law. He says that this verification of the moral law by using it to deduce freedom fully serves the purpose of an a priori justification of it: 42 "For the moral law thereby proves its reality sufficiently to satisfy even the critique of speculative reason, because it gives positive determination to a causality that was thought of only negatively, the possibility of which speculative reason was bound to accept without being able to

comprehend it."

In the same section the idea of freedom, as regards its possibility, Kant actually declared to be not only a 'need' (Bedürfnis) but an 'analytic principle' of pure speculative reason. Yet in the Critique of Pure Reason he would not grant that we could know even the "real possibility" of noumenal attributes like freedom, and declared the object of the negative solution of the antinomy between causality and freedom given there to be not an attempt to show the actuality, or even the possibility, of freedom, but only a proof that it does not contradict universal natural causality. Yet now he seems to argue that the moral law is verified by the fact that it makes intelligible an idea that we were bound by speculative reason to accept, but yet, until we introduced moral conceptions, could not understand or describe except in negatives.

Such an argument lays much greater stress on the import of the demand of reason for a "first cause" than is done in the discussion appended to the antinomy itself, but, after all, it was the unfailing conviction of Kant even in the Critique of Pure Reason that theoretical reason by itself forces us to conceive phenomena as having a non-phenomenal basis, i. e., as based on a non-sensible type of causality, which causality Ethics proceeds to define further. Kant is careful to insist that this does not give us a theoretical insight into the nature or possibility of freedom or extend our theoretical knowledge in the least, but only enables us to know that our actions may be "practically" determined by a free (i. e., not sensibly conditioned) act of reason according to the moral law."

It is the moral law that Kant generally makes the real basis of the proof of freedom. For example, in the Critique of Practical Reason he argues that we must know morality first and infer freedom from it, not vice versa, on the grounds that we cannot be immediately aware of freedom, because our first concept of it is merely negative, and also that it is theoretically indemonstrable and scientifically useless, so that we can-

42 Ibid., p. 48.

p. 457).

44 Kritik der prakt. Vernunft, p. 49, and Grundlegung zur Metaph. der Sitten,
p. 459.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Kritik der reinen Vernunft, p. 74 f. In the Critique of Judgment, Kant declares freedom to be the only one of the "Vernunftsideen" which can be regarded as a "Tatsache" though established not theoretically, but practically. (Section 91, p. 457).

not come to know its reality by any other means than an appeal to the moral law, which we know immediately, as presupposing freedom.45 In the Critique of Pure Reason any proof of the reality of freedom is expressly left to the ethical works. Again, in the Critique of Practical Reason, Kant remarks that "freedom is the only one of all the ideas of speculative reason of which we know the possibility a priori, though without comprehending it, because it is the condition of the moral law, which we know." 46 In a footnote he adds that freedom is the ratio essendi of the moral law, and the moral law the ratio cognoscendi of freedom, because, if it were not for the moral law, we could never be justified in accepting freedom. We may say that Kant's general attitude is to take the moral law as valid in its own right without deduction from anything else, and freedom as a necessary presupposition of morality, the result of the Critique of Pure Reason being merely to show that freedom and causality are not absolutely incompatible, and the negative idea of freedom which it gives serving as a slight additional confirmation, not as an essential basis, of the conclusions of moral philosophy.

The above account indicates what appears to be Kant's distinctive theory of freedom as an ethical postulate. Morality thus arises out of the conflict between our empirical and our intelligible character. The categorical nature of moral obligation indicates the pure rationality of the will which it moves; it therefore transcends the empirical world of necessity and implies freedom. But its imperative character, implies the uncongeniality of the sphere of sense-experience in which the ideally free will actually operates. Thus the one fact of moral obligation logically necessitates the postulation of human nature as at once determined and free, determined by the necessity of the phenomenal nexus in which it is involved, yet acting spontaneously in its noumenal capacity. That which theoretical reason could only regard as a mere concept, — the notion of a two-faced character and of a twofold world, — practical reason has now demonstrated as a certainty. Theoretically we are not prohibited from entertaining the notion of freedom; ethically we are compelled to maintain it, if morality is to have any significance.

pelled to maintain it, if morality is to have any significance.

The difficulties of this absolute separation between the two selves, the free self and the empirically determined self, are many and hard to surmount. How can a timeless, purely rational self be conceived of as acting immorally, and if it never acts immorally, how can we be said to be responsible for immoral action? How can I regard as myself a being so different from the self I know, as a timeless self must be? Again, if we are to form any sort of definite conception of the noumenal self, it seems that it must be in the last resort reduced either to God or to a mere abstraction of the fact that we know and will, and neither alternative provides an opportunity of saving human freedom, if mechanical causality is regarded as universal among phenomena and yet as quite in-

<sup>45</sup> Religion within Bounds of Mere Reason, Hartenstein, Vol. 2, p. 143. 46 Kritik der prakt. Vernunft p. 4.

compatible with freedom in the man as phenomenal. If the noumenal self be equivalent to God, then God alone is free; if it be merely an abstraction of the fact that we know, it cannot be a self-subsistent, concrete subject such as we must predicate moral action of.

If phenomena are only phenomena for the noumenal self, how can they be regarded as completely determined by each other in abstraction from their relation to this self? How can even the appearance of a reality which is a true whole be itself a mere aggregate of mechanically interacting parts? Can two such absolutely disparate beings as the noumenal and the phenomenal self be yet held in any sense to be one?

Again, how can a timeless morality be conceived? Morality is essentially a struggle and progress, but how can this struggle and progress occur in a timeless sphere, and if they occur only in the phenomenal world, then how can this be reconciled with the denial of the possibility of moral action by us qua phenomenal?

These questions result from taking the noumenal as absolutely disparate from the phenomenal self and hence not as including and transcending but as merely negating the temporal. Kant seems to have been correct in so far as freedom calls for a principle which is in some sense supratemporal, but he made it timeless, which is a different thing. He realized that moral action must be regarded as necessary with a necessity other than that given by a mechanical causation, but he sought this necessity in an absolute timeless reality the mere existence of which he believed himself to have established on theoretical grounds. But can the mind think of a timeless, free, intelligible character directing and affecting a temporal, determined, empirical character? If it does actually affect it, it must do so in the medium of time, which is the only medium in which the empirical character can be affected, and in that case it must itself enter into the temporal series, which it by definition transcends. And if, starting the other way, we conceive of the intelligible character as affecting the empirical without descending from its timeless sublimity, then we are forced to the conclusion that the empirical character, existing in time, points to and demands an supra-phenomenal, timeless explanation, a claim diametrically opposite to the conclusion of Kant's epistemology. In other words, Kant's theory of the empirical and the intelligible character, which is involved in his notion of transcendental freedom, does contain a theoretical self-contradiction so long as we regard the intelligible character, and thus a transcendental freedom, as in any way actually operative in human conduct. This separation was forced on Kant by his belief that the phenomenal world was necessarily and universally under the sway not only of necessity but of a type of mechanical causality. Any attempt to establish a closer connection between the phenomenal and the noumenal self would have either caused a breach in the chain of 'natural' causation, or given the noumenal self 'sensible' or temporal content and so brought it under the sway of this 'natural' causation.

Another controversial point in Kant's ethical system is due to his very conception of the scope and of the role of morality. A morality which seeks its basis above, that is, apart from, the world of possible experience, is a morality which, in its first chapter, would appear free from the impediments of space-time necessity, and which on that account would admit of a more sublime statement than in the case of a morality grounded in experience. But this apparent freedom from empirical entanglements, so sublime in prospect, shows itself illusory in the last chapter. A morality exalted above experience finds the noumenal dignity of its laws impaired by the fact that they fail to have any meaning in the very sphere in which they are to apply. Transcending experience and yet not conditioned by experience, such a morality has itself no meaning for experience and is therefore an illusory morality. The moral law either applies really in the empirical sphere, in which case the description of the moral law and of the empirical sphere must be revised so as to make possible their organic relation; or else the moral law does transcend the empirical sphere, in which case its "als ob" application to experience is the naive illusion of our moral consciousness. Estimated in terms of our experience, Kant's ethics is too remotely sublime to affect our lives and his freedom too elusive to explain our moral strivings.



## LICHTENBERG'S IRRATIONALISM

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The use of the terms rational and irrational in English and German presents an interesting contrast. In ordinary English usage irrational is virtually equivalent to demented, while in German the term is one of approbation.1 In German, on the other hand, to be tagged as a rationalist is no compliment; to classify a person or an action as rational in English is to denote hearty approval.

The difference in usage can, of course, be partially explained on semantic grounds. In large measure, however, it is attributable to a basic difference in Weltanschauung, a difference further substantiated by the discrepancy in the interpretation of such terms as romantic-romantisch

and mystical-mystisch.

According to the German usage, particularly as applied to literature, the irrational attitude toward life may be briefly characterized as one emotional in substance, intuitive in method, and creative in intent.2 Its emotional aspect by emphasizing the subjective element in experience leads to lyricism. Thus irrationalism tends away from the universal and the objective, and toward the individual. It is organic, vital, and dynamic rather than mechanical and static. Intuition (Anschauung) rather than discoursive logic is the tool with which the irrationalist operates. His knowledge is acquired in an instantaneous comprehension of the totality of a situation rather than by a painful process of observation and analysis of details. His responses to a given situation are for the most part instinctive in nature and presuppose a state of receptivity rather than deliberate effort. If science is the narrower domain of the rationalist, that of the irrationalist is creative activity in whatever field of endeavor he may be engaged. In this activity he is aided, theoretically at least, by inspiration and imagination. In his creativeness he reflects the divine principle.

Early in January, 1777, the town of Göttingen was accorded the dubious honor of a visit from the notorious conjurer and adventurer Jakob (or Philadelphus) Philadelphia. This adept of the black arts was born in the Quaker City early in the eighteenth century. Having previously delivered himself of lectures on physics and mathematics in England, he was at this time touring the Continent, displaying his skill and pocketing fat fees. In Göttingen, however, he encountered an unex-

Leipzig, 1922.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As synonyms for *irrational* Webster lists "preposterous, ridiculous, senseless, stupid, unintelligent, . . . foolish, absurd." Obviously English *irrational* is the equivalent of German *irrationell* or *unvernünftig*. The point is that there is no English equivalent for German *irrational* in its usual meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Richard Müller-Freienfels, *Irrationalismus*. *Umrisse einer Erkenntnislehre*.

pected difficulty. On the morning of January seventh, shortly after he had established himself in the university town, he awoke to find the place flooded with spurious handbills purporting to advertise his performances but actually estranging his prospective customers by showing him up as a fraud and showering him with ridicule.

The handbill was a hasty improvisation from the pen of Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, professor at the University of Göttingen and arch enemy of all pseudoscientific hocus-pocus, no matter how innocent in appearance. This Anschlag-Zeddel im Nahmen von Philadelphia,3 which appeared anonymously, was perhaps less telling in effect than Lichtenberg's executors would have us believe,4 for in a letter to Schernhagen dated two days later Lichtenberg reports that Philadelphia's performances had been going on for three or four days and that he himself planned to attend the final performance at the Kaufhaus that same day.5

The incident is but one of many similar encounters in Lichtenberg's career in which he invariably arrayed himself with the champions of the Aufklärung against the obscurantists. In the case of Philadelphia Lichtenberg's attack seems to have been motivated mainly by his conviction that the conjurer was fleecing the good people of Göttingen. Nevertheless, Lichtenberg himself, who was deeply interested in Taschenspielerei,6 as in all other manifestations of the occult and mysterious, was willing to part with a hard-earned thaler for the privilege of witnessing the performance.

It is precisely this interest in the more abstruse problems of existence which sets Lichtenberg apart from his more consistently rationalistic contemporaries. One is somewhat surprised, for example, to find this mathematician and astronomer of an enlightened era devoting himself to a serious investigation of the nature and meaning of dreams - a Traumbuch was one of his many unrealized projects - or subjecting his freely-admitted superstitious bent to scientific scrutiny. Furthermore, he shared with Lessing and others a belief in metempsychosis, though he was reluctant to confide the details of his system even to his private notebooks. Insanity fascinated him, and the famous institutions of Bedlam and Celle are frequently mentioned in his works. He dabbled in ghost lore, and indulged at times in morbid thoughts of suicide and death. His notebooks and correspondence, finally, attest to moments of religious exaltation, and he confesses to an at least transient admiration for Jakob Böhme.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> VS III 233 ff. (*Vermischte Schriften*, hrsg. v. L. C. Lichtenberg und Friedrich Kries, Bde. I-IX. Göttingen, 1800-1806.)

<sup>4</sup> VS III ix ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Briefe I 273. (Lichtenbergs Briefe, hrsg. v. A. Leitzmann und Carl Schüddekopf, Bde. I-III. Leipzig, 1901-1904.)

<sup>6</sup> A 16, 20 and passim (G. C. Lichtenbergs Aphorismen. Nach den Handschriften herausgegeben von Albert Leitzmann. Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Berlin, 1902-1908.) There are 11 notebooks (No. 123: A, B, KA; No. 131: C, D; No. 130: E, F, RA; No. 140: J; No. 141: K, L), cited here by letter and aphorism number.

These and related phenomena of a decidedly non-rationalistic savor have been variously evaluated by Lichtenberg scholarship. The irrational trend in his thought was noted by Gervinus, but has been ignored by so recent a critic as Franz Schultz.7 Lichtenberg's most recent biographer Wilhelm Grenzmann, goes far towards claiming him almost entirely for irrationalism, characterizing his mysticism, for example, as dunkel, uferlos, abgründig, and picturing him as torn between the con-

flicting forces of Verstand and Glaube.8

To attempt a more precise analysis of the relationship between the rational and irrational elements in Lichtenberg's thought is an interesting problem, though one beset by many difficulties. The antirationalistic prejudice of some recent criticism in Germany, as evidenced in the case of Lichtenberg by the Grenzmann biography, has tended to overemphasize the irrational factor. This tendency is exaggerated by the natural inclination to dwell on Lichtenberg's private notebooks, in which this factor is most clearly evident. Since these notebooks are primarily responsible for Lichtenberg's literary fame, and since their intrinsic worth far surpasses that of his other productions, literary and scientific, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that Lichtenberg was first and foremost a scientist, wholeheartedly devoted to the strict discipline of the scientific method in his pursuit of truth in his chosen field. It is revealing to note that his private library, consisting of about 3000 volumes at the time of his death, contained only 250 works of literature, half of these being English and the other half including German and other languages.9

Another complicating factor is Lichtenberg's relentless intellectual honesty, which constantly leads him to reexamine his opinions and to change them when he finds them wanting. As a consequence his views on certain subjects remain fluid and are sometimes contradictory. Then too, a despiser of systems himself, he refrained from constructing a systematic Weltanschauung; some critics, indeed, have claimed that his analytical talent was incapable of systematic thought. What follows here is, in any event, not to be construed as an attempt to construct such a system where Lichtenberg himself claimed none to exist. It a simply an effort to point out certain recurrent and more or less consistent views found in Lichtenberg's writings and pertinent to the problem under

investigation.

Underlying Lichtenberg's entire attitude toward life is his faith in the intellectual powers of man to solve the problems of life - at least to the extent to which they are capable of solution - and to lead mankind progressively along the road to perfection. While, as will be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>G. Gervinus, Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen, 5.

Teil. Leipzig, 1844, S. 174 ff. F. Schultz, Klassik und Romantik der Deutschen, 1. Teil. Stuttgart, 1935, S. 33.

8 W. Grenzmann. G. C. Lichtenberg. Salzburg-Leipzig, 1939. S. 232, 264, 272.

9 Walter A. Berendsohn, "Kleine Lichtenberg-Studien." Euphorion, 24 (1922). S. 448, Anmerkung 2.

shown, this underlying faith must in some respects be qualified, it remains the basis of his attitude.

The general term "intellectual powers" is used here advisedly, for Lichtenberg is as a rule by no means precise in distinguishing among such terms as Vernunft, Verstand, Geist, and so on. In general his usage corresponds to the terminology in style at the time in the rare instances where the distinction is of importance. For the most part, however, he uses these and even such terms as bon sens, gemeiner Menschenverstand, gemeiner Sinn, as practically synonymous, with the basic meaning of "common sense." The attributes of the intellect for Lichtenberg, by whatever name he chooses to identify it at a given moment, are the power of abstraction (or generalization) and the power of logical thought. But even more important is a third attribute, which Lichtenberg himself possessed to a remarkable degree: namely, the ability to respond reasonably to a given situation and to sense its inherent rightness or wrongness. It was this sense of reasonableness that he so much admired in the English people. One might well use a term of Lichtenberg's own invention to refer to this quality: der praktische Blick.10 Its possession enabled him to penetrate more deeply than any of his countrymen previously into the English character, in its strength and in its weakness.

Where logical discourse is at a loss to explain a concept, Lichtenberg both preaches and practices the use of metaphor. Thus we may obtain an insight into his conception of the intellect by observing the metaphors he uses to describe it, most of which are drawn from the field of government. Reason is the reigning monarch with throne and scepter, the lawgiver, the disciplinarian, both in the world at large and within the individual.11 The relationship between reason and the "lower" faculties is expressed on numerous occasions by comparing the soul to a bicameral legislature, in which, unfortunately, a law passed in one chamber often encounters great difficulty in obtaining ratification in the other.12 The same figure is used in a slightly different sense when man is described as having been given a seat in God's lower chamber; it is his duty as well as his privilege to exercise his prerogative. If reason is a gift of God, we can best display our gratitude by using it. Indeed, those who do not think can scarcely be said to exist: "Non cogitant, ergo non sunt." 13

The power of reason is an expansive force, constantly seeking to broaden its domain. A few days before his death Lichtenberg enters the following *Hauptregel* in his notebook: "Il faut reculer les causes intelligibles tant qu'on peut." <sup>14</sup> To be sure, Lichtenberg has little inclina-

<sup>10</sup> L 722. 11 VS VII 72.

<sup>12</sup> B 65; cf. also B 339, C 19, etc.

<sup>13</sup> J 362.

tion toward metaphysical speculation, but within the bounds of sense perception no field of human activity, no physical or mental phenomenon escapes his all-consuming curiosity. He is possessed of a true libido sciendi, and a grain of millet is as important to him as the universe. His impatient quest for truth is held in check only by his methodical thoroughness as a scientist.

Thus far Lichtenberg appears to fit well the conventional conception of the eighteenth century savant. Further evidence could be adduced to complete the picture: his utilitarianism, his cosmopolitanism, his faith in progress. From a modern standpoint his literary tastes are both unusually good and unusually bad. Side by side with his penetrating understanding of Shakespeare stands his admiration for Nicolai's Sebaldus Notbanker and the now almost forgotten novels of J. G. Miller von Itzehoe. In one breath he admires Lessing, Wieland - and Kästner. 18 He believes that the didactic poem is the acme of literary excellence, that the basic function of literature is to provide a sugar-coating for moral truths, and that Germany is sadly in need of a Boileau.16 Though himself a stylist of the first rank, he sees in Werther nothing but an ennervating, demoralizing, and hence a dangerous book.17

While Lichtenberg thus obviously shares many of the views and prejudices of the rationalistic age in which he lives, the very honesty of his scientific attitude compels him to open his eyes to the irrational elements in life. The process of thought itself, for example, he finds to be essentially instinctive and hence irrational in nature. It is presumptuous to state, "I think," for such a statement presumes that thought is the result of volition. Actually one should say, "something thinks," (... es denckt, so wie man sagt es blizt ...")18 He points out significantly that one says auf einen Gedanken kommen, stoßen, fallen, verfallen, and geraten, but never, "ich habe mich nach dem Gedancken binbegeben."19 Not only is the thought process itself irrational, but it is activated by an irrational force. Man, the Ursachen-Thier, has an inescapable impulse to seek out relationships which he calls "reasons," a sort of intellectual hunger, the purpose of which he himself does not know.20

The rational nature of thought is further qualified by its inescapable subjectivism. This Kantian view, so disturbing in its implications for scientific "objectivity," recurs often in the latter part of Lichtenberg's life, often causing him great concern. His own views vacillate between Kantian skepticism and a naive acceptance of the evidence of the senses, doubtless conditioned by his contacts with English empiricism. However,

<sup>15</sup> B 64.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Leitzmann's note to E 327. Lichtenberg eventually acknowledges the stylistic excellence of Werther, though he continues to condemn the work on moral grounds.

<sup>18</sup> B. 303, L 713.

<sup>19</sup> J 734. 20 VS VII 58 f.

even granted the validity of sense impressions, there still exist many factors which confuse and impair rational judgment. One's physical state. for example, colors one's thinking imperceptibly. Not only sickness and health, he finds, but so simple a matter as being in a reclining or standing position may influence one's views.21 Furthermore, one's ideas are troubled by habits of thought, which may be implicit in the very words in which one clothes them, or which may derive from irrational notions implanted in childhood, such as belief in miracles, or ghosts.<sup>22</sup>

Normally, as has been seen, reason, as the "higher chamber" in the parliament of the soul, has the function of passing upon the decisions of the "lower house," the instincts and the emotions. Dreams, however, provide a striking example of the functioning of the lower faculties of the soul, independent of reason.23 Lichtenberg's interest in this subject has been widely noted, particularly since his conclusions are remarkably similar to those of modern psychology. A proper study, he believes, would reveal dreams to be a key not only to character and personality but to the nature of the soul itself. When in dreams the reigning principle ("das regierende Principium," i.e. reason) temporarily lays down its scepter, and the artificial restraints of reflection are for the moment excluded, our innermost nature asserts itself: we perceive ourselves as we really are.24

Even more surprising, considering Lichtenberg's rationalistic origins, is the importance which he attributes to instinct. In a contribution intended for Rabener's Wörterbuch, he defines instinct as an inner drive implanted by nature in her creatures to make them act in a certain way. The two basic drives are self-preservation and reproduction.25 Fortunately for his survival, man neither must nor can, as a rule, control these drives. Especially in moments of great emergency it is safer to trust these promptings than to indulge in rational analysis of one's situation.26 "Der Trieb komt uns, dem Himmel sey es gedanckt, schon über den Hals, wenn wir offt mit dem Beweiß der Nützlichkeit und Nöthigkeit noch nicht halb fertig sind." 27

Instinct may furthermore be a mere shortcut to conclusions the validity of which may eventually be borne out by more orthodox reasoning. In this sense, instinct represents a kind of revelation; an example is our instinctive belief in immortality. "Es wird nach unserm Lebenso seyn wie es vor demselben war, dieses ist ein triebmäßiger, instincktmäßiger Vorgriff vor allem Räsonement. Man kan es nocht nicht beweisen aber für mich hat [es] . . . eine unwiderstehliche Gewalt . . . Kein eintziges Räsonnement hat mich noch vom Gegentheil überzeugt.

<sup>21</sup> F 552, J 320. 22 Aus Lichtenbergs Nachlaß, hrsg. von A. Leitzmann. Weimar, 1899. S. 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> A 51, J 60. <sup>24</sup> A 33, E 490, F 602, J 156, F 679.

<sup>25</sup> Nachlaß, 63 f.

<sup>26</sup> Briefe II 369. 27 C 330.

Meine Meinung ist Natur, jenes ist Kunst, deren Resultat alles so sehr ... widerspricht, als nur etwas widersprechen kan."28

Indeed Lichtenberg believes all our actions may be prompted by instincts of whose existence we are not aware, to fulfill purposes unknown to us.29 He is fond of drawing a parallel between our actions and those of the lower animals. The spider, for example, is conscious neither of the geometry involved in building a web nor of the purpose for which the web is built, but is merely satisfying an obscure urge.30 Is it not then possible that we, who are well aware of why the spider builds its web, may in turn by our instintive actions - for example our belief in God or immortality - arouse the admiration of beings of whose existence we are ignorant, but to whom the purpose of such instinctive acts is readily apparent?31

No aspect of Lichtenberg's work has attracted wider attention than his attacks on the sentimentalism and emotionalism of the seventies. The violence and fervor with which he excoriated the members of the Hainbund and the seraphic Lavater, coupled with his denunciation of the Sturm und Drang Goethe, have often served to put him in the rationalistic camp, along with Nicolai and the other archenemies of emotionalism. In the fragment Lorenz Eschenheimers empfindsame Reise nach Laputa he defines empfindsam as derived from a concept meaning, "sich mit Gewalt zum Brechen zwingen oder mit Gewalt und auf eine unnatürliche Weise etwas von sich geben." 32 The general tone of his writings on this subject is in a similar vein. Emotion, he asserts, is no substitute for rational judgment, and the association of warm hearts and empty heads is a sinister one. As a rule, deep feeling and rational thought are mutually exclusive, the former resulting from a deterioration of the latter. The fashion in Germany, he laments, now seems to be to think with the heart and feel with the head.

Lichtenberg's comments on emotionalism are so scathing that it is easy to misunderstand his real intent. Closer examination reveals that emotion as such was not his target, but rather what he considered to be a false exaggeration and public display of emotion. Being by nature a reticent man himself, he felt it indecent and immodest to wear one's heart on one's sleeve. Upon occasion, in his diaries or in letters to friends, he admits to emotions as deep as any of those flaunted by the Genies, but he is unwilling to display his feelings in public. Nature in her more majestic aspects: a storm at sea, or the starry sky in winter; thoughts of his mother, whom he worshipped; the dignity of a religious service; or the masterful acting of a Garrick - all these bring tears of deep emotion to his eyes. However, he would consider it improper to make literary capital of them.

<sup>28</sup> J 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> A 24, F 370; Friedrich Lauchert, Lichtenbergs schriftstellerische Tätigkeit in chronologischer Übersicht dargestellt. Leipzig, 1893. S. 141.

<sup>30</sup> VS IV 175 f.

<sup>31</sup> L 736.

<sup>32</sup> VS I 54.

To a limited degree Lichtenberg is even willing to concede that emotion has its place in scientific research as an instrument of knowledge. The astronomer Herschel's success, for example, he attributes to a "feeling" (Gefühl) for his subject.33 One may go so far as to say that a "classical" synthesis of intellect and emotion would appeal to him, though he himself is constitutionally incapable of achieving it. In his later years his lack of spontaneous feeling appears to him as a cause for alarm: "Ich fürchte fast, es wird bey mir alles zu Gedancken und das Gefühl verliehrt sich." 84

Of the relativity few emotional moments to which Lichtenberg admits, those of a religious nature have been most frequently singled out for comment. The question has been raised as to a possible conflict in his personality between religious faith and scientific rationalism. The latter factor was, however, too dominant to permit more than an occasional momentary qualm at the thought of casting off religious beliefs which, as a pastor's son, he had been reared to revere. As in the case of immortality, he is willing to concede that belief in God is instinctive in man, but he considers it naive merely to personify the incomprehensible and call it God. 35 The God whom he envisions is in any case not the Christian Deity: ". . . es ist nicht mehr der hülfreiche Gott unsrer Kindheit; es ist ein Wesen, dessen Wege nicht unsere Wege und dessen Gedancken nicht unsere Gedancken sind, und damit ist dem Hülflosen nicht sonderlich viel gedient." 36 It would be but a short step to equate a God so conceived with nature itself.

The instinctive belief in God, while natural, should not be suffered to be blind. There is no more wretched or servile state than that of the Glaubens-Sklave,37 the person who believes out of mere respect or habit. Much of the rancor which Lichtenberg heaps upon Catholicism derives from his conviction that the church puts limitations upon free inquiry. It is reason which must pass upon the articles of faith, he asserts somewhat paradoxically, never the opposite.38 Theologians, therefore, would do well not to lean too heavily upon revelation to explain the mysteries of life, lest the constant progress of science one day discomfit them by discovering rational explanations.39 What lies beyond the present limits of knowledge may at the moment be the legitimate province of faith, but this claim is not inalienable.

To Lichtenberg's credit, his belief in the adequacy of reason as an instrument for the acquisition of knowledge was no more blind than his religious beliefs. It was clear to him that the rational faculty possesses

<sup>34</sup> J 908. Lichtenberg frequently uses the terms "ein Mann von Gefühl," or "ein Mann von Hertz," in an obviously complimentary sense.

<sup>35</sup> J 266, 256, L 737.

<sup>36</sup> J 833. 37 Cf. J 13, 427.

<sup>38</sup> F 762.

<sup>39</sup> F 440.

a serious defect: the results which is achieves are paid for at the price of progressive abstraction from reality and hence tend to become increasingly invalid. The strength, but also the weakness, of rational thought lies in its ability to abstract similarities, or approximate similarities, from a series of experiential data. This ability alone makes thought possible, but individual differences must inevitably be ignored in the process. The similarities, Lichtenberg believes, are not inherent in the things themselves: before God (i. e., in actuality), there are no similarities. 40 Nature, he states as early as 1765, creates no genera or species, but only individuals.41 Unfortunately, man is so shortsighted that he must himself create generic terms in order to retain his experiences and operate with them. A grim realization for a mathematician!

This deficiency in rational thought is most clearly evident in our use of language. The broader and more inclusive a linguistic concept becomes, the less fully it describes a given case. To be accurate, words, like algebraical symbols, should permit of differentiation. Echoing the scientist C. W. Büttner, Lichtenberg states that strictly speaking there are no synonyms.42 The trend of words in all languages to lose their individuality applies especially to German. Lichtenberg feels his native language, as compared with English or French, to be especially deficient in mots propres and excessively cluttered with compounds lacking in individuality.48 This failing of language is especially evident in describing the subtle states of the soul; thus it is very difficult to express one's feelings with accuracy. "Wenn wir so vollständig sprechen könten als wir empfinden, die Redner würden wenige widerspenstige, und die Verliebten wenig grausame finden." 44 Furthermore, words once created are all too apt to influence the thought of subsequent users: too often it is the word which engenders the thought rather than vice versa.45

While Lichtenberg does not deny the utility - indeed the inevitability - of rational abstraction, his entire orientation is in the opposite direction, toward the specific example, the concrete case, the individual characteristic.46 On the basis of this orientation it is easy to appreciate his hostility to anything smacking of "system" or "theory," the latter because it completely transcends the evidence of the senses, the former because it shows all the weaknesses of rational abstraction plus unnatural rigidity. The antidote which he liberally prescribes consists in the painstaking observation of detail. To his own passion for such observation, both in his own inner life and in the world about him, we owe his remarkable insight into human nature - he is an accomplished psychologist - and his penetrating analyses of Garrick's acting and of the

<sup>40</sup> J 936. 41 A 17.

<sup>42</sup> A 30.

<sup>43</sup> D 460, E 39; cf. D 590.

<sup>45</sup> F 492.

<sup>46</sup> In the terminology of Müller-Freienfels this manner of thinking would be classified as ein singularisierendes Denken.

graphic art of William Hogarth. This insatiable zest for observation accounts for his consuming interest in physiognomy, just as his distrust of imprecise generalization explains his uncompromising rejection of Lavater. The converse of this talent is, to be sure, Lichtenberg's wellknown lack of synthetic ability. He is unable to combine the wealth of detailed knowledge which he possesses into a significant whole. With characteristic self-irony, he complains that all his thoughts must be males, since no progeny is forthcoming; or he bewails the impossibility of constructing channels to improve the communications between the isolated facts lying in his brain.47

So great was Lichtenberg's abhorrence of commonplace generalization and so urgent was his desire to grasp each experience in its characteristic uniqueness that his insistence on originality at times assumes the aspect of an almost morbid skepticism.48 Nothing is to be accepted at face value: the most self-evident truths, indeed especially such truths. must be carefully scrutinized as to their validity. Error itself becomes a tool in the hands of the investigator, who through fear of being mistaken is brought to question again and again the soundness of his results and may thereby make new discoveries.49

Lichtenberg has nothing but scorn for those who adopt ready-made opinions or who blindly accept traditional knowledge. In German literature he sorely misses the spark of originality - not the excessive gesturing of the Originalgenies, who, he feels, merely exaggerate their own and alien weaknesses, but the genuine originality of the true pathfinder. German authors, whom he terms "Nachahmendes pecus," must learn to observe and to individualize; they must experience the inner awakening which leads to "Selbsterkenntnis." 50 What would be desirable in literature is an imperative necessity in science. The scientist, Lichtenberg claims, must strike out on untraveled paths and go to any extremes necessary to uncover new truths. Lichtenberg himself endeavors to set up rules by which one may deliberately avoid familiar channels of thought. One such "unmethodical method" consists in deliberately courting the paradox. Thus from the commonplace expression "contagious disease" he derives the notion of "contagious health." Or he proposes that instead of singing te deum laudamus at the end of a war, one should intone a te diabolum damnamus at its onset.51 "Da Jedermann gleich das gewöhnliche bey einer Sache einfällt, gleich vorsätzlich auf das ungemeine und ungewöhnliche zu gehen: Sexus plantarum, Sexus astrorum, acidorum et alcalinorum." 52

<sup>47</sup> VS VII 74, VS I 42.

<sup>48</sup> J 1231, 1234, etc.

<sup>49</sup> J 919. 50 Briefe I 391, VS III 428. The notion that observation leads to knowledge of self and to an inner awakening (in sich selbst erwachen) is a favorite idea of Lichenberg's. Cf. also VS IV 131. 51 VS IX 289 f., J 477, L 280.

<sup>52</sup> J 1228.

Lichtenberg's skepticism has been interpreted as a weakness,53 and indeed he himself recognized the danger in an attitude in which doubt becomes more than mere watchfulness.54 On the whole, however, his insistence on originality, on observation, on testing and retesting supposedly established facts may better be given a positive evaluation. 55 It is the driving force in all his intellectual activity, an attitude both innate and deliberately fostered in the hope that it will lead to significant discoveries. The tragedy of the situation for Lichtenberg lies in the fact that by and large he failed in, or was congenitally incapable of drawing the consequences of his observations.

In direct and perhaps startling contrast to Lichtenberg's demand for the individualization of experience is his realization that true knowledge is and must be an integral whole.56 The ability to grasp the totality of a situation is a measure of intelligence. A mediocre thinker sees only fragments and is unable to grasp the whole in the relationship of all its parts. To a perfect degree, this ability is possessed only by God. Man's intellect is too limited to comprehend simultaneously both the whole and the characteristic individuality of each constituent part. In his effort to do so he inevitably sacrifices reality (by abstracting general truths), or simplicity (by concentrating on the individual data of experience). It is a matter of not seeing the trees for the woods, or not seeing the woods for the trees.

This dilemma in Lichtenberg's thought is reflected in his fondness for speculating as to the observations one might make if one had the power of unlimited magnification and of unlimited reduction in size, looking at the world through both ends of the telescope, as it were; or - which amounts to the same thing - observation from a great distance and in close proximity.57 He is fond of conceiving the world as if it were reduced to the size of a grain of millet, or a grain of millet magnified to the size of the earth. If either of these conditions could be fulfilled, he believes significant discoveries might result. Reduction in size may be even more enlightening than magnification. "Glaubt ihr denn daß sich blos Entdeckungen mit Vergrößerungs Gläßern machen liessen? Ich glaube mit Verkleinerungs Gläßern, oder wenigstens durch ähnliche Instrumente in der Intellecktual Welt sind wohl mehr Entdeckungen gemacht worden." 58 In the intellectual sphere, he claims, Scharfsinn, i. e. the power of precise observation, serves as a magnifying glass, while Witz, i. e. the power of abstraction, is the equivalent of looking through the wrong end of a telescope.50

<sup>53</sup> Grenzmann, op. cit., 49, 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> F 443.

<sup>55</sup> He himself considered doubt a sign of strong character. Cf. F 323.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> It is interesting to note that Lichtenberg studied nature from both viewpoints: the infinitely small as a chemist and physicist, the infinitely large as an astronomer.

<sup>58</sup> D 465. 59 F 694.

To some extent at least, Lichtenberg's demand for perception of totality reflects his own inability to perceive in this manner. One constantly feels his fear of becoming lost in a maze of details, his secret desire to be able to relate his ideas more systematically. His method of writing clearly reveals the psychological problem with which he is wrestling: Leitzmann aptly compares him with a "Mosaikarbeiter." 60 In a sort of directive addressed to himself, Lichtenberg advises against concerning one's self with the whole work, a prospect which he admits he finds depressing. Rather, one should take one thing at a time: " . . . man arbeite gerade an dem was man vor sich hat und das klar, alsdann gehe man an das nächste." 61 The truth of the matter was that unless he struck while the iron was hot, i.e., unless he worked on what appealed to him at the moment, Lichtenberg was apt never to finish. He frequently accuses himself of Indolenz and the propensity toward procrastination. He expresses himself in almost envious tones concerning the orderliness of Copernicus' work, "... der Geist der Ordnung, der in ihm wohnte, der selbst vom Himmel stammend sein eigenes Wesen in dessen Werke hinaus trug . . . " 62

On the whole, however, Lichtenberg remains true to his predilection for detail. In the last analysis the whole truth is accessible only to God. In God's eyes there is but one science; man, due to his limited capacity, is forced to make separate chapters of it;63 or, expressed in more typically Lichtenbergian vein, "Wir, der Schwantz der Welt, wissen nicht, was der Kopf vorhat." 64 The moral which Lichtenberg draws, not too unwillingly, is that one should concentrate on the modest portion of the whole which he can clearly survey.

Aside from his inability to grasp the totality of things, the searcher for knowledge is hampered by other limitations. The inadequacy of language, already mentioned above, is one. Not only does the refractory nature of this instrument make it difficult to pass on knowledge to others, but it also prevents the thinker himself from formulating his ideas with adequate precision. Lichtenberg was, furthermore, especially after his study of Kant, tormented by the problem of the validity of subjective experience and its relationship to reality. His ultimate realization that it is necessary to be content with a subjective validity is obviously poor consolation for a scientist. "Was außer uns ein Traum seyn mag, ist immer in uns und für uns wenigstens reel . . . "65 The difficulty of knowing one's own soul, let alone the outside world, or the souls of other humans, appears insuperable. Fortunately, the whole structure of this skepticism collapses under the impact of "common sense," and Lichtenberg returns to his study of experience, more cautious, perhaps, because

<sup>60</sup> Nachlaß XV.

<sup>61</sup> F 187. 62 VS VI 79.

<sup>63</sup> Briefe II 181.

<sup>64</sup>F 53.

of his excursion into skepticism, but not, as Grenzmann would have it, a confused and crushed individual, whose only remaining recourse was "das naive und ehrfürchtige Staunen vor dem Rätsel."88 Such mysticism was, in the long run, foreign to his nature. "Manches unaussprechliche," he states on one occasion, "wäre des Aussprechens kaum werth wenn man es aussprechen könte." 67

Though the totality of things is inaccessible to discoursive reason, there are other methods of approaching such knowledge which may prove fruitful. In pursuing one such line of thought Lichtenberg closely approximates a recent psychological observation, that of Gestalt perception. He says: "Der erste Blick, den ich im Geist auf eine Sache thue, ist sehr wichtig. Unser Geist übersieht die Sache dunckel von allen Seiten, welches offt mehr werth ist, als eine deutliche Vorstellung von einer eintzigen." 68 Such instantaneous perception and comprehension of a complex situation is, on a relatively small scale, analogous to God's cognition of totality (i. e., his omniscience). This Zusammennehmen is closely related, indeed identical to artistic inspiration. The ability to perceive in this manner distinguishes men of genius from those of ordinary intelligence. 60 Rational thought, far from abetting such a process, impairs it. The same may be said for the acquisition of certain skills, such as learning a language. 70 The more one reflects upon and analyzes the components of such a skill, the further one is from acquiring it.

Perhaps unconsciously, Lichtenberg concedes to art what he denies to science, namely the ability to see and state larger relationships, beyond the scope of reason. The instrument by which this is achieved is the metaphor. It is somewhat surprising to find Lichtenberg arraying himself with the Sturm und Drang against their adversaries. However, he rises to the defense of Herder, when the latter's use of metaphors in his Ursprung der Sprachen was sharply attacked by a critic in the Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek.71 The reason for Lichtenberg's championship of this medium of expression is not far to seek. It is his own favorite device when he wishes to convey a subtle thought. Coupled with an almost uncanny gift of association, it represents a very characteristic form of his aphoristic notations.

The metaphor is, then, an outward expression of the perceptual act referred to above as Zusammennehmen. If the latter, momentarily and partially, lifts the veil from the totality of things for the percipient, the metaphor enables him to convey the significance of what he has perceived to others. To the degree that such metaphors help to clarify a difficult idea, Lichtenberg considers them "wahrhaffte Definitionen." 72

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<sup>85</sup> VS VI 346.

<sup>66</sup> Grenzmann, op. cit., 166.

<sup>67</sup> F 735. 68 D 271.

<sup>89</sup> J 1215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> D 410, E 415; cf. also D 447. <sup>71</sup> D 210 and Anmerkung.

<sup>72</sup> A 111.

Ostensibly, at least, such "Einfälle" are as little the product of rational thought as the original perception, though at times Lichtenberg seems to make a deliberate effort to seek them out.<sup>73</sup>

In this endeavor he is abetted by his unique ability to associate dissimilar items in totally unexpected ways, as when, to quote but a single example, he says of a hypothetical person, or perhaps of himself: "Er liebte Pfeffer und gezackte Linien." 74 As an ardent student of David Hartley's associational psychology, Lichtenberg was both well aware and perhaps a bit proud of this ability. "Wenn ich irgend in etwas eine Stärke besitze," he states, "so ist es gewiß im Ausfinden von Ähnlichkeiten und dadurch im deutlich machen dessen was ich vollkommen verstehe . . . " 75 It is to be noted that the act of association resembles rational thought in that both perceive similarities in diverse data. Association, however, places no such premium upon abstracting the similarity as does rational abstraction; rather, by bringing together two normally unrelated concepts, it gives fuller expression to each in its characteristic individuality. When for example, Lichtenberg, anticipating a concept later dear to the Romanticists, states that the earth is perhaps a female, 76 his statement stimulates reflection as to the nature of femininity on the one hand and the peculiar characteristics of our planet on the other.

The thought processes described above are the result of "inspiration" rather than logical reasoning. In general, as has already been shown, Lichtenberg considers thinking not as a conscious, deliberate act subordinate to the will, but as one instinctive in nature. Ideas cannot be sought out, but occur to one accidentally, as it were. Thereby the concept of chance (Zufall) assumes great importance for Lichtenberg. The greatest scientific discoveries, he claims, indeed even his own modest discovery in the field of physics, the so-called Lichtenberg figures, were all products of chance rather than the fruit of industry. Not necessity, he believes, but chance is the mother of invention. Although hard work and application can lay the foundation for discovery, the actual achievement is usually fortuituous.

This attitude, surprising in a supposedly confirmed Aufklärer, is to a considerable degree a rationalization, born of deep disappointment. Any reader of Lichtenberg's notebooks and other works must have noticed his frequent expressions of discontent at his inability to capitalize on his vast but poorly integrated knowledge. Having sought on the whole unsuccessfully to wrest some of nature's secrets from her by main force, he quite humanly concluded that success in such endeavors does not depend

<sup>73</sup> Cf. E 436.
 <sup>74</sup> F 986. Grenzmann, op. cit. S. 147 f., points out a certain similarity between
 Lichtenberg and Hamann along these lines.

<sup>75</sup> J 1298. 76 D 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> VS IX 58 f. Cf. C 123: "Es scheint als wenn sich der Himmel die Mittheilung besonderer Gedancken und Entdeckungen selbst vorbehalten hätte da sie so selten die Frucht des Fleißes sind."

upon effort but rather upon good fortune. This attitude is especially clear in connection with his discussion of the discovery of the principle of aerial navigation, a subject which had quickly captured his imagination. He claims to have observed the theory before its successful exploitation in France, but fate had not smiled upon him; the obvious inference from his observations had not occurred to him. There remains nothing but to lament: "Montgolfiers Erfindung war in meiner Hand." 78

Lichtenberg's gift of association was only one of the many ways in which his fertile imagination asserted itself. The kaleidoscopic brilliance of his wit when, as frequently happened, this "treueste Gefährtinn" 79 ran away with him, often leaves the reader breathless. In the eccentricities of his style at such moments he clearly shows himself to belong in the tradition of Tristram Shandy and Schulmeisterlein Wuz, though it is questionable whether even Sterne or Jean Paul would have been capable of some of the extravagant tours de force of the sober Göttingen professor. Lichtenberg considered these spiritual excursions unhampered by the exigencies of space, time, or logical connection, as a sort of psychological cure, a cheap and effective substitute for a trip to a watering place.80 Nevertheless, in public he felt called upon to apologize for them, or at least to attempt to justify himself for indulging in them. For as in the case of the instincts and the emotions, he assures us that fancy must be held in check by reason, and must under no circumstances be offered as a substitute for truth.81 When thus tamed and displayed at the proper time and place, the imagination provides at least an innocent diversion, and may even open new vistas and lead to the discovery of new truths. 82 Indeed, by enabling us to live not only in the present but also in the past and future, it lifts us above the level of the lower creatures and demonstrates our kinship with the creator of the world.83

It has been demonstrated that Lichtenberg neither was ignorant of nor ignored the irrational elements in life. In his recognition of the considerable and often useful role played in human existence by the instincts and emotions he has something in common with the literary trends he so viciously attacked. In his predilection for the concrete individual experience over abstract generalities, and in his realization of the limitations imposed upon knowledge by the nature of the intellect, he again runs counter to the rationalistic tradition. And finally, in his defense of

the metaphor and his concessions to the imagination, he even approaches

the sacred precincts of poetry.

And yet Lichtenberg remains fundamentally a rationalist. If he

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<sup>78</sup> VS IX 140.

<sup>79</sup> VS I 4. 80 L 226.

<sup>81</sup> VS VI 174 f., 349 f.; cf. F 1151.

<sup>82</sup> J 1278. 83 VS VI 349 f.

concedes to the irrational elements in life a greater importance than do his associates, it is primarily because he is more observant and less inclined to distort what he observes to fit a preconceived pattern. His primary concern is always science; no doubt he would have been chagrined to know that more space would be devoted to him in histories of literature than in handbooks of science. When he admits of possible limitations on the expansion of human knowledge, he does so with regret and in the hope that the future may overcome such obstacles. While he acknowledges the importance of the instincts, the emotions, and the imagination, he insists that they must, as a rule, be subordinate to reason; their value is for the most part not an intrinsic one, but derives from their ability to aid in the quest for knowledge. He is prepared to admit frankly the limitations of the human intellect when this is inevitable, but he uses every means at his disposal, rational if possible, irrational if necessary, to aid in spreading light and pushing back the frontiers.

In a little known parable, hidden away in an other wise dull scientific say, 84 Lichtenberg gives apt expression to his standpoint. In a dream

essay,84 Lichtenberg gives apt expression to his standpoint. In a dream he finds himself hovering far above the earth, confronted by a venerable old man, whose presence fills him with awe. The old man gives him something to study, a tiny greenish-grey sphere, about an inch in diameter. Instructing him to analyze it, the old man disappears. The analysis is carefully carried out and the physical and chemical properties of the sphere are accurately established, but still the scientist is unable to identify the object. When the old man returns, he informs the awestruck experimenter that what he has just attempted to analyze was the earth itself. The scientist then begs that a mustard-seed be magnified for him to the size of the earth, but he is told that he will never, before his "transformation," learn what lies "on the other side of the curtain." The old man disappears a second time, leaving with the scientist a book in an unknown tongue, except for these words on the title page: "Dieses prüfe mein Sohn, aber chemisch, und sage mir was du gefunden hast." The scientist is sorely puzzled: "Wie? sprach ich zu mir selbst, ich soll den Inhalt eines Buchs che misch untersuchen? Der Inhalt eines Buchs ist ja sein Sinn, und chemische Analyse wäre hier Analyse von Lumpen und Druckerschwärze. Als ich einen Augenblick nachdachte, wurde es auf einmahl helle in meinem Kopf, und mit dem Licht stieg unüberwindliche Schamröthe auf. O! rief ich lauter und lauter, Ich verstehe, ich verstehe! Unsterbliches Wesen, O vergib, vergib mir; ich fasse deinen gütigen Verweis! Dank dem Ewigen daß ich ihn fassen kann! - Ich war unbeschreiblich bewegt, und darüber erwachte ich."

<sup>84</sup> VS V 162-172 (written in 1794).



Ernst Wiechert

## Die Mutter:

Wir trugen nicht Haß, wir trugen nicht Zorn, wir trugen nur Liebe und Saat und Korn, und aus Liebe und Korn und Saat wird sich einst bauen die goldene Stadt. Auf den Toten werden wir sie auferbaun, und die Toten werden die goldenen Türme schaun. Für sie werden wir auf Dornen gehn, für sie werden wir bettelnd vor den Türen stehn, für sie werden wir tragen Schuld und Fluch, für sie werden wir füllen den Tränenkrug. Aber nach hundert Jahren, wenn der Haß erlischt, haben wir das Mal von unsren Stirnen gewischt, und mit blutenden Füßen, elend und bloß, nimmt Gott uns wieder in der Völker Schoß. Dann wird er blühen, der Freiheitsbaum, golden an der goldnen Erde Saum, um den mein Kind im Kerker verdorben und um den alle Söhne gestorben. Dann haben die Toten und alle Frommen das neue Sakrament genommen. Dann sind wir nicht Totenkinder genannt, dann geht Maria über das Land, und überall, wo die Kreuze sich neigen, werden Rosen aus der Erde steigen. Und der Wolf wird bei den Lämmern liegen, und die Mütter werden ihre Kinder wiegen, und Gott sieht seine Erde an und sagt noch einmal: "Es war wohlgetan!"

> Aus der "Totenmesse" von Ernst Wiechert